# The Medieval Manuscript Book

## Cultural Approaches

EDITED BY
MICHAEL JOHNSTON
AND MICHAEL VAN DUSSEN

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# THE MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPT BOOK

Traditional scholarship on manuscripts has tended to focus on issues concerning their production and has shown comparatively little interest in the cultural contexts of the manuscript book. *The Medieval Manuscript Book* redresses this by focusing on aspects of the medieval book in its cultural situations. Written by experts in the study of the handmade book before print, this volume combines bibliographical expertise with broader insights into the theory and praxis of manuscript study in areas from bibliography to social context, linguistics to location, and archaeology to conservation. The focus of the contributions ranges widely, from authorship to miscellaneity, and from vernacularity to digital facsimiles of manuscripts. Taken as a whole, these essays make the case that to understand the manuscript book it must be analyzed in all its cultural complexity, from production to transmission to its continued adaptation.

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# THE MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPT BOOK

*Cultural Approaches*

EDITED BY

MICHAEL JOHNSTON AND
MICHAEL VAN DUSSEN

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In this collection, we insist that manuscripts are the products of multiple human agents and should never be reduced to a single moment in their dynamic life cycle. Scholarship is the same way: no scholar works alone, and an edited collection like this one is a process as much as it is a product. Our process was made all the happier by the generous contributions of friends and colleagues, who gave us their insight, read our proposal, or gave feedback on particular chapters. In this vein, it is our pleasure to acknowledge the help of Kenneth P. Clarke, Godfried Croenen, Alexandra Gillespie, Daniel Hobbins, Tim Machan, Jordi Sánchez Martí, Deborah McGrady, Alastair Minnis, Alex Mueller, Pamela Robinson, David Rundle, Jason Scott-Warren, Fiona Somerset, Carol Symes, Elaine Treharne, and David Watt. We also wish to thank the audiences at the Thirteenth Biennial Conference of the Early Book Society (St Andrews, 2013) and the 129th Annual MLA Convention (Chicago, 2014), where we and our contributors presented some of the initial ideas from this volume. We are also grateful for the help and diligence of two research assistants, Bianca Bourgeois and David Anidjar.

CHAPTER 1

# *Introduction: manuscripts and cultural history*

*Michael Johnston and Michael Van Dussen*

We begin with a proposition: the material particularities of manuscripts opened up and foreclosed forms of cultural exchange that were different from those facilitated by the printed book and the digital text. Given this, can we theorize and historicize *manuscript culture* in the same way that our colleagues from later periods do for *print culture* and now are doing for *digital culture*, but without compromising what is particular to manuscripts and how those in the Middle Ages produced and interacted with them?[1]

Manuscript scholars have yet to ask this question in a systematic and interdisciplinary way; the question must be addressed if we are to arrive at a fuller picture of late medieval European culture in its variegated forms. Latent in much scholarship on manuscripts is less an overt resistance to theorizations of manuscript culture writ large than a failure to undertake such analyses. In numerous essay collections there is a marked disjoint between the comprehensive and synthesizing aims of editors, and what contributors end up writing: tightly focused analyses of individual manuscripts or small groups of codices.[2] As James Simpson has observed: "paleographers and codicologists for the most part stick to paleography and codicology. They provide an invaluable service industry, but themselves eschew the translation of their findings into literary criticism and cultural history."[3] This volume marks an attempt to move beyond the "service industry" model to place manuscripts firmly within cultural history.

Taking a broad view of manuscript culture does not threaten traditional approaches to manuscript study – in fact, we see these approaches as necessary complements of one another. Scholars trained in manuscript study, including the disciplines of paleography and codicology, need not sacrifice the precision that is essential to their research in order to communicate a synthetic overview of manuscripts and how they work within culture – provided one is similarly rigorous in exploring how the material

features of books work in their cultural context. The words of Bruno Latour, a founder of Actor-Network-Theory (and a man who is impatient with the application of a priori models to particular circumstances), are apposite here:

> If you mention an agency, you have to provide the account of its action, and to do so you need to make more or less explicit which trials have produced which observable traces … This seems obvious enough and yet worth pointing out to those intoxicated with too many invisible and unaccountable social forces. In [Actor-Network-Theory], it is not permitted to say: "No one mentions it. I have no proof but I know there is some hidden actor at work here behind the scene." This is conspiracy theory, not social theory. The presence of the social has to be demonstrated each time anew; it can never be simply postulated. If it has no vehicle to travel, it won't move an inch, it will leave no trace, it won't be recorded in any sort of document. Even to detect Polonius behind the arras that became his shroud, the Prince of Denmark needed to hear the squeak of the rat.[4]

When we speak of the "culture" of manuscripts in this introductory chapter, we are really aiming to theorize and describe manuscripts as humans interact with them – in the vein of Latour, we conceive of manuscripts as objects within the cultural world, where people interact with them in meaningful, readable, ways. Models and synthesizing descriptions of manuscript culture, as we and our contributors employ them, are better used as heuristics, not frameworks to be imposed on what we want to understand. That heuristic functionality is in turn necessary if the intellectual pursuit is to maintain its vibrancy. This primarily comes down to how we communicate our findings. As in critiques of "pure" bibliography by figures such as D. F. McKenzie,[5] we seek to avoid a solipsistic brand of "pure" manuscript study as an end in itself and instead to allow analyses of manuscripts to inform and be informed by other academic lines of inquiry – thereby ultimately putting manuscript studies into dialogue with cultural history.

In this volume, our focus is on late medieval Europe (roughly 1100–1500). Such a delimited date range is necessary to allow the specific features of textual production and transmission from this period to stand in relief. The later Middle Ages saw a revolution in the technology of the book, so to appreciate what was a unique cultural moment, we have sought here to isolate it. We wish to resist the teleological narrative that sees the late medieval book as a transitional stage between the glories of earlier monastic literacy and the later triumph of print. Changes in the *mise-en-page* of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century codex, as the book transitioned from a primarily monastic to a primarily scholastic vehicle,

yielded a fundamentally new material artifact.[6] This period also witnessed the first substantial movement of book production outside of monasteries, when books came to serve both universities and the lay public;[7] the growth of European vernaculars in literature, with an attendant birth of the author as a public figure;[8] and the arrival of paper, which resulted in a much more diverse typology of the book, and, simply put, more books.[9] 1500 forms a suitable close to the book (though several authors extend to later periods), because by then the printed book had taken off and the balance had tipped against the hand-copied codex. The manuscript book would not become obsolete for several centuries, but by 1500 the future belonged to Gutenberg.

For nearly every aspect of production, manuscript scholars working in a number of disciplines and national traditions have happily agreed on a general canon of studies. Most readers will be familiar with some of the standard works on paleography,[10] codicology,[11] scribal *usus*,[12] illumination,[13] binding,[14] and scribal networks.[15] But, of course, production is just one stage in the dynamic life cycle of a manuscript; and if we are to think more broadly about the book in medieval culture, we must study the manuscript in all its stages, not just the moment of origin. As Kathryn Kerby-Fulton has remarked, "Once a text has left its author's hands, reception is everything."[16] When it comes to analyses of manuscript reception and use – how texts made meaning in the hands of readers, how encounters of readers with books were mediated by the materiality of manuscripts, and how manuscripts served diverse audiences over time – progress has been more halting than it has with studies of manuscript production. Of course, scholarship on the post-production lives of manuscripts abounds: there are studies of particular corpora,[17] particular authors or texts,[18] or isolated traditions at specific moments in time and in individual regions.[19] But most of these have been limited to case studies of small groups of manuscripts and are published in disparate essay collections or journals, resulting in what Ralph Hanna aptly terms a "fragmented situation."[20] That is to say, most such studies do not speak to one another and remain in an atomized state, such that there is little encouragement for scholars to draw connections between manuscripts of different texts, languages, and regions, and thus rarely do we see the scattered studies crystallizing into a more cohesive vision of manuscript culture. The existence of so many fine, yet isolated, case studies shows us that there is an opportunity for medievalists to begin analyzing the unique contours of manuscript culture writ large.

In this regard, we would draw an analogy between studying the manuscript life cycle and studying the human life cycle. In basic biology classes, students are introduced to the processes giving rise to human life (sperm meets egg, cells divide, zygote becomes fetus, etc.). Such processes can be analyzed empirically and can be counted on to follow a consistent pattern that is repeated at the origin of every human life. But when we follow the child after its birth, the descriptive methods of biology no longer suffice to account for a life – we now also need recourse to sociological and epigenetic explanations, as nature meets nurture and society takes on a role. Analogously, manuscript scholars have been very good at explaining the processes that give rise to manuscripts by employing the empirical mode of descriptive bibliography – for example, the canon of studies cited above. We have been less successful in understanding the post-partum stages of the manuscript's life cycle, the exploration of which requires sociological explanations that build upon, but ultimately ask different questions than, traditional bibliography. In what follows, then, we offer three theses that point to the uniqueness of late medieval manuscript culture – a culture that takes in production, but as only one of its many components – anticipating the issues that the chapters in this collection will raise. These are merely three theses out of many one might posit. We offer them not in the spirit of Luther trying to enact programmatic change, but of Marx's "Theses on Feuerbach" – a series of self-consciously wide-ranging propositions that seek to challenge current thinking and sketch out what a more capacious paradigm might look like.

## THESIS #1: THE MANUSCRIPT IS A PROCESS AS MUCH AS IT IS A PRODUCT, RESULTING IN ABSOLUTE NUMERICAL UNIQUENESS

Late medieval manuscript culture was inherently miscellaneous, with texts being compiled alongside other texts throughout a manuscript's history.[21] Manuscript books did not move in a discrete, linear way from production to use, but were rather, in the characterization of John J. Thompson and Stephen Kelly, a *process*, in which they could be expanded and reimagined at any stage – whether the scribe changed his mind mid-course and added something new, the owner wanted to add a new text ten years after acquiring a manuscript, or a subsequent owner excised a quire containing a text that she now found démodé or religiously suspect.[22] Manuscripts continued their growth when one extended them by procuring an additional quire, adding text to it, and then tucking it between the existing quires.

Or one could procure a group of inscribed quires from an acquaintance, religious house, or commissioned scribe and patch that into a previously completed codex. Alternatively, one could add a singleton to an existing quire to tack on a short text, or jot a short poem in the margins or on the flyleaves. The manuscript was in constant flux, always with the potential to be reshaped by its current owner.

The dominance of miscellaneity is a unique feature of manuscript culture. Miscellaneity also existed within print culture, of course, but in a much more circumscribed way. As Jeffrey Todd Knight and Alexandra Gillespie have shown, print culture was indeed miscellaneous. Readers may have perceived of *Sammelbände* as the standard form for printed books.[23] But in compiling a *Sammelband*, one was limited to what a publisher had decided was worth his investment, and thus there was a narrow range of options available to readers who wished to compile a miscellany. Of course, printed texts are full of marginalia and poems inscribed in flyleaves, but each act of manuscript copying inside an otherwise printed book registered a difference between reproducible type and the individual idiosyncrasies of copying by hand. One could not add a new printed text in the margins of a manuscript. Manuscripts, by contrast, contain a much wider diversity of texts (all produced with the same technology – the human hand), for compilers of manuscript codices were limited only by access to exemplars, the time and labor required to produce a copy, and cost.

While taking our inspiration from scholars working in later periods who have asked broad questions about book culture, we want to insist that manuscripts are different in kind from printed books and thus that they demand a different set of questions and methodologies. Although many scholars in recent years have rightly complicated the manuscript/print divide, insisting on the continuity of the book across the medieval and early modern periods, we want to insist that the form of books and, as a result, the ways readers interacted with them changed in important ways with the development of print. In short, by replacing Elizabeth Eisenstein's revolutionary model with an evolutionary one, we have pasted over much of the uniqueness of the hand-copied codex.[24] The medieval book world was composed of a network of handmade artifacts exemplifying myriad nodes of human contact. Under print, those forms of contact were dramatically reduced for most readers, who instead purchased a commodity that someone else had produced in a centralized location. With the move to mechanized production, decisions about what to include in the book were largely removed from readers' hands. It is to each unique codex, and

its attestation of multiple forms of human agency, that we must look to understand the cultural significance of the book in late medieval Europe.

Of course, no two printed books are absolutely identical, and textual instability was a central feature of the early printed book. Still, such books *appeared* reproducible to early modern readers (who did not have access to a Hinman collator, after all) and facilitated a phenomenology of reading that suggested sameness across copies of an edition, a point recently emphasized by Elizabeth Eisenstein.[25] Title pages, printers' colophons, references to where texts could be purchased, errata sheets – these all underscored the notion that the printed book was a reproducible commodity, something few readers would have ascribed to manuscripts, save perhaps those most popular texts, such as Books of Hours or Parisian glossed Bibles.[26] Scholars today can use Early English Books Online (EEBO) or the impressive library of digitized incunables on the website of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek and, even within the technological limitations we all recognize, arrive at a reasonable impression of what, say, the Q1 *Hamlet* or the *Nuremberg Chronicle* looked like. There could not be an EEBO equivalent for manuscripts – short, that is, of digitizing every surviving copy of a text – for manuscripts were not, for obvious technological reasons, reproducible and were thus not perceived as reproducible commodities. Instead, implicit to the manuscript's very existence is its production and reception as a numerically unique artifact. With manuscript production and reception, differences in scribal hands, abbreviation systems, dialects, decoration, ruling, *mise-en-page*, use of catchwords, and rubrication all make two copies of a text different in any number of subtle and not-so-subtle ways. These differences were registered across the entire life cycle of manuscripts.

## THESIS #2: BECAUSE THE MANUSCRIPT AS PROCESS RESULTED IN ITS CONTINUED AND CONSTANT EVOLUTION, WE MUST FOCUS ON A MANUSCRIPT'S ENTIRE LIFE CYCLE, NOT JUST ITS MOMENT OF ORIGINAL PRODUCTION

Such an approach as we here advocate reframes the life cycles of manuscripts, taking a broader view of the less concrete factors that inform production, while resisting the temptation to grant production activities a central position over, say, use, storage, retail, or refurbishment. As one example, the trade and circulation of secondhand books exemplify instructive alternative practices that were informed by and in turn

informed production patterns and decisions. Manuscripts were typically produced to outlive their first users, not least because the decision to produce a manuscript included a hope that it would retain value and remain useful or relevant through more than one generation of readers – an ambition made thinkable by the durability of medieval books. In such circumstances, book production and prolonged use intersect with medieval attitudes to tradition and *auctoritas*: when what is "contemporary," or of use or relevance in the present, includes what was written perhaps centuries earlier, it is difficult – anachronistic even – to draw a strict line between what we now mean by "contemporary" and what that category included for medieval people. Instead, we have to come to terms with what Kate Harris calls "a medieval view in which the quality of contemporaneity in a book might actually be protracted."[27] Books may be *used* without being *used up*, their value remaining more or less consistent (in contrast to receiving a new valuation, such as that which attracts antiquarians or scholars who conduct curiosity-based research at a critical distance).

What are the implications of these observations for manuscript study? It is commonplace to mention the bespoke nature of manuscript production, or production situations in which the one who intends to purchase a specific book is in close contact with its producers. In such a context, supply and demand correlate neatly because they are more or less two parts of the same whole. From a production standpoint, bespoke trade does account for the majority of manuscript books at their inception and first exchange as commodities. However, when we pan out and consider the broader life cycle of the medieval book, then production and retail no longer coincide as neatly as they would come to do in the era of print. There was a widespread trade in secondhand manuscripts that by definition could not have been "bespoke" by their new readers. As a result of value retained by (or added to) manuscripts, combined with a number of factors that made it more likely for books to enter the retail market after their initial production and use by first-generation readers or owners, a large proportion of books produced on commission would later enter the secondhand market, becoming part of a trade that was characterized by what we might call speculative retail (with the exception of the many books that were donated or bequeathed to libraries and heirs). The life of a manuscript, even including its production, is not always (perhaps even not typically) something that proceeds as linearly as does that of a printed book.

Yet aside from a handful of studies, scholarship on medieval manuscripts has tended to treat handwritten books as if their lives followed a

linear course, with emphasis placed on the origins of books at the initial production stage and on the trade in new books only.[28] That kind of approach has difficulty accounting for composite manuscripts, manuscript repair, or refurbishment. And as Michael Sargent has shown, the number of books available, or already produced and on the secondhand market (or, we would add, held in libraries), conditioned the rate of new production.[29] According to this dynamic, even in a manuscript culture characterized by bespoke production, the manuscript economy extends far beyond the level of local, interpersonal exchange that is implicit to most models of manuscript production. Carla Bozzolo and Ezio Ornato comment on "une véritable *chute* de la production" of certain kinds of manuscripts in the fifteenth century – including staples of academic training like commentaries on the *Sentences* – attributing this phenomenon not to a lack of interest in such texts, but to the effects of war, disease, and a depressed economy.[30] Malcolm Parkes notes further that these same crises and hardships led to an influx of secondhand books onto the market, books which were usually cheaper to buy than new copies.[31] We would add that the remarkable durability of manuscript materials was also a factor. As a result of such durability, volumes of staple texts eventually saturated the market for secondhand books. The manuscript economy must, then, be regarded from its many angles, including, but not limited to, attention to production and first-hand commissioning and readership.

We may go still further to take in other aspects of the circulation, or the "social lives," of manuscripts. With emphasis on the later medieval period, it is striking how central secondhand books were to lettered activity and to the development of communication networks.[32] Retail trade in used books presents only part of the picture. In the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there was a marked explosion in library foundation, expansion, and donation.[33] This activity has relatively little to do with the production of new books, except where "public" (or "common") access to library copies may have reduced the need to produce additional volumes, or where donors left money for books that had not yet been produced.[34] The majority of the books that ended up in these libraries appear not to have been commissioned for the library, but rather donated by a previous owner. Occasionally books may have been purchased or even commissioned with their eventual donation in mind.[35] Pressure was placed on stocks of secondhand books through competition as library foundations increased in number.[36] The market for secondhand books, and for books that would eventually stock libraries like Duke Humfrey's, was also international. The general councils of the fifteenth century acted as

clearinghouses and markets for books from throughout Europe – places where book hunters could reliably find what they were looking for, or tap into networks of like-minded intellectuals who could procure what they wanted on their behalf.[37] The networks of intellectuals, books, and libraries that councils like Constance and Basel facilitated are registered in many ways, including in collecting activities and the compilation of impressive encyclopedic projects like John Whethamstede's *Granarium* and *Palearium*, and Thomas Gascoigne's *Dictionarium theologicum*. It was these general councils, too, and the patterns of readership, circulation, and production that they promoted, that were in large part responsible for the dramatic spike in manuscript production in Europe (particularly in Latin) that ushered in the innovations in production that gave rise to print technology.[38]

## THESIS #3: THE MANUSCRIPT AS PROCESS COMBINED WITH THE MANUSCRIPT'S DYNAMIC LIFE CYCLE RESULTED IN DECENTRALIZED FORMS OF AUTHORITY

Many late medieval authors felt anxieties attendant upon the manuscript as process, for the meaning of a text was constantly being renegotiated and reconfigured as soon as the author released his or her work.[39] Because of the constantly shifting nexus of agents involved in manuscript production, literary and textual authority in the later Middle Ages was largely decentralized. In the wake of Linne Mooney's contention that the professional scrivener Adam Pynkhurst was Chaucer's own literary scribe, scholars of Middle English have been paying much more attention to Chaucer's short poem to "Adam scriveyn," which laments his scribe's unreliability.[40] Chaucer's scribal curse is just one example of a veritable late medieval genre (one that had roots in a more ancient manuscript tradition), suggesting that an awareness of textual agency defying the author's control was widespread.[41] Perhaps the most obvious method of gaining authorial control in a manuscript culture was to oversee the copying of one's own texts: scholars have suggested that a diverse group of authors, hailing from France (e.g., Christine de Pizan, Guillaume de Machaut), England (e.g., John Gower, Osbern Bokenham, Thomas Hoccleve), and Italy (e.g., Petrarch) did precisely this, with some even acting directly as their own scribes.[42]

The decentralized authority that characterized late medieval manuscript culture also opened up space for participation in book production by a

wider swath of the late medieval population. The beginning of this period saw the monasteries lose their monopoly over book production, as universities and urban commercial artisans became the new dominant force. As the period went on, book production became less and less centralized. Largely thanks to the advent of paper, the rapid increase in literacy, and the spread of vernacular texts, the later Middle Ages saw the emergence of amateur book production, such that Curt Bühler could justifiably contend that the fifteenth century was marked by the "every man his own scribe movement."[43]

One of the most obvious signs of this opening up of book production first to urban professionals and then to amateurs is to be found in the numerous book-making recipes that spread throughout Europe at this time. Such recipes, offering guidance on how to prepare parchment, make ink of all colors, or sharpen a pen, provide a valuable index to the devolution of literary authority. In addition to the many scattered directions for or descriptions of scribal practice preserved by scholars such as Alexander Nequam and John of Garland, several Latin treatises devoted entirely to the craft of book-making emerged right before or during the early part of the period our volume covers.[44] In the tenth century, Heraclius composed *De coloribus et artibus Romanorum*; the *Mappae clavicula*, which originated in the tenth century, was greatly expanded in the twelfth; in the early twelfth century, Theophilus composed his *De diversis artibus*; and 1174 saw John of Tilbury's *Epistola de arte notaria*. As the period progressed a number of shorter book-making recipes multiplied in the vernacular. Amateur book producers, after all, did not need lengthy treatises like Theophilus' on how to make exotic colored inks or how to rule a complex *mise-en-page*; they needed a handy guide to producing black ink, or making red for rubrication, or scraping parchment. In late medieval England, for example, these recipes proliferated and have yet to be fully catalogued and analyzed.[45] Once they have been, we will have yet another indicator of the decentralization and "amateurization" of book production that marks our period.

In asking how manuscripts circulated and were encountered by readers within culture, this collection takes inspiration from scholars of later periods, for our print-focused colleagues have on the whole been far more intellectually daring and wide-ranging than we have as they seek a synoptic view of print culture. They have, in short, been better sociologists of the lives of books.[46] Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin made one of the first forays into thinking about book culture as a whole in their

magisterial *L'apparicion du livre*, followed by Elizabeth Eisenstein's *The printing press as an agent of change*.[47] For all the scholarly controversy Febvre and Martin's and Eisenstein's books have stimulated, their work remains a hallmark of the productive conversations that broad-ranging scholarship can initiate. Eisenstein's work also gave rise, for example, to the corrective views, similarly wide-ranging, of Joseph Dane, Adrian Johns, and David McKitterick.[48]

A few additional examples of this sort of broad, adventurous scholarship on print culture, all emerging in the last twenty years, will clarify what we see as the methodology that manuscript studies might profitably embrace. Recently Ann Blair has explored the revolutionary effects of printing on methods of organizing information, which she shows was one of the most important developments in early modern intellectual history. For the same period, Andrew Pettegree has offered a compendious overview of the spread of the printed word throughout Europe and its effects on intellectual culture. William St Clair has offered a radical revision of the literary history of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain based on the publication history of literary texts. And Leah Price has shown how the physical book itself served a wide range of functions, beyond merely carrying words on a page, for Victorian Britain. Finally, we would cite Ellen Gruber Garvey's *Writing with scissors*, which analyzes how printed books in the nineteenth-century United States were an inducement to cutting and scrapbooking as often as to reading.[49] All of these studies are now, or are soon likely to be, foundational to book history, and they are all marked by an attempt to think about how the materiality of printed books across culture created fertile ground for the production of meaning.

When it comes to the theory of book history, the manuscript/print divide in scholarship is even more pronounced. Almost all of the foundational theoretical work, that is, has been done by scholars of print. In this vein, the work of D. F. McKenzie, Jerome McGann, Robert Darnton, and Roger Chartier – all respected bibliographers *and* theorists of the book, able to work with the fine-grained, specific details of books while simultaneously thinking broadly about print culture – has become de rigueur for students being introduced to the history of the book. There simply is no manuscript-oriented equivalent of McKenzie's magisterial and foundational *Bibliography and the sociology of texts*. The dominant anthologies of book history, which shape current graduate studies, and thus future scholarship, remain almost exclusively print-oriented, as do the several major book history series.[50] As a result, when manuscript scholars wish to position their work within broader theoretical constructs of the materiality

of the text, they have to shoehorn in the work of scholars who base their theories on printed artifacts.

With an eye to theorizing and better understanding the material and cultural history of the manuscript, we have solicited thirteen authors, asking each of them to take up a topic that marks a significant aspect of the social life of manuscripts – from authorship to circulation, multilingualism to miscellaneity, intersections with print to access through digital media. No chapter uses a case study as its raison d'être; rather, specific examples from particular manuscripts are used as points of departure for broader interpretive claims about manuscript culture. Of course, not all aspects of manuscript culture could be examined in a single volume. Editing, for example (a topic that deserves a substantial volume of its own), receives little attention here, as does art history.[51] And as has become clear throughout this introduction, aspects of manuscript production are (intentionally) not greatly emphasized in the pages to follow (though they are certainly not absent). Our aim is to convince readers that, although we all still need "pure" paleography and codicology, and many of us are trained in these skills and use them frequently in our research, we also need to do more with our studies of manuscripts. We need to synthesize the many things we have learned from paleography and codicology in ways that attend to local topographies without succumbing to their particularity. We offer this volume as a contribution to what we hope will be a continued discussion of the place of manuscript studies in the broader context of the humanities and social sciences.

## NOTES

1 On the methodologies needed to address manuscript culture, see Hanna, "Analytical survey 4"; and A. Gillespie, "The history of the book."

2 See, for example, S. Kelly and Thompson, *Imagining the book*; Pearsall, *Manuscripts and readers in fifteenth-century England*; Machan, *Medieval literature*; Wilcox, *Scraped, stroked, and bound*; and Hussey and Niles, *The genesis of books*.

3 Rev. of Ralph Hanna, *London literature*, 292. Simpson claims this of scholarship in Middle English, though we find the statement to be broadly applicable to medieval manuscript studies.

4 Latour, *Reassembling the social*, 53.

5 See, for example, his opening to *Bibliography and the sociology of texts*, chapter 1. We hasten to add that we ourselves are not immune to this criticism, as much of our own research might be labeled "pure" codicology. See, for example,

Johnston, "*Sir Degrevant* in the 'Findern Anthology' " and "Two Leicestershire romance codices."

6 Parkes, "The influence of the concepts of *ordinatio* and *compilatio*"; and Illich, *In the vineyard of the text*.

7 Thomson, "Monastic and cathedral book production"; Michael, "English illuminators, *ca*. 1190–1450"; and Parkes, *Their hands before our eyes*, 1–53.

8 For England, see Wogan-Browne et al., *The idea of the vernacular* and *Language and culture in medieval Britain*; on the growth of Czech, see the contribution of Lucie Doležalová in the present volume; on Europe in general, see Minnis and Johnson, *The Cambridge history of literary criticism*. On the growth of the author, see Hobbins, *Authorship and publicity before print*.

9 Lyall, "Materials"; Kwakkel, "A new type of book"; Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch*, vol. 1, 256–64, vol. 11, 644; and Buringh, *Medieval manuscript production in the Latin West*, 430–3.

10 Derolez, *The palaeography of Gothic manuscript books*; Parkes, *English cursive book hands*; Roberts, *Guide to scripts*; Bischoff, *Latin palaeography*; Brown, *A guide to Western historical scripts*. "Turning over a new leaf: manuscript innovation in the twelfth-century renaissance," the current research project led by Erik Kwakkel, promises to shed yet more light on medieval script.

11 Bozzolo and Ornato, *Pour une histoire du livre manuscrit au Moyen Âge*; de Hamel, *Scribes and illuminators*; Ivy, "The bibliography of the manuscript-book"; Martin and Vezin, *Mise en page et mise en texte*; Muzerelle, *Vocabulaire codicologique*; and Robinson, "The 'booklet'."

12 Ker, "From 'above top line' to 'below top line' "; Parkes, "The influence of the concepts of *ordinatio* and *compilatio*"; and Parkes, *Their hands before our eyes*.

13 Alexander, *Medieval illuminators*; Backhouse, *The illuminated manuscript*; Sandler, *Gothic manuscripts*; Morgan, *Early Gothic manuscripts*.

14 Gilissen, *La reliure occidentale*; Goldschmidt, *Gothic and Renaissance bookbindings*; Ker, *Fragments of medieval manuscripts*; and Szirmai, *The archaeology of medieval bookbinding*.

15 Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their makers*; and Mooney and Stubbs, *Scribes and the city*.

16 Kerby-Fulton, *Books under suspicion*, 159.

17 *Ibid.*; Hanna, *London literature*; and Taylor, *Textual situations*.

18 Lerer, *Chaucer and his readers*; Hobbins, *Authorship and publicity before print*; Dagenais, *The ethics of reading*; McGrady, *Controlling readers*; and de Looze, *Manuscript diversity*.

19 Pearsall and Griffiths, *Book production and publishing in Britain*; Huot, *From song to book*; Galvez, *Songbook*; and A. Gillespie and Wakelin, *The production of books in England*.

20 Hanna, "Analytical survey," 245.

21 See Arthur Bahr's chapter in the present volume.

22 S. Kelly and Thompson, "Imagined histories of the book," 5; see also Kwakkel, "Late medieval text collections"; and Nichols and Wenzel, *The whole book*.

23 Knight, *Bound to read*; and A. Gillespie, "Poets, printers, and early English Sammelbände." See also the contributions of Seth Lerer and Jeffrey Todd Knight in the present volume. There is a productive tension between our insistence on the material instability of the manuscript book versus the reproducibility of the printed book, and Knight's insistence on the ways miscellaneity structures both manuscript and print culture. This tension indicates, we believe, a potentially fruitful area for continued future collaboration between medieval and early modern bibliographers.

24 Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change*.

25 Eisenstein, *Divine art, infernal machine*, 1–33.

26 de Hamel, *Glossed books of the Bible*; Avril and Renaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France*; and Reinburg, *French books of hours*. On early attempts at speculative commercial production in England, see Matheson and Mooney, "The Beryn Scribe and his texts."

27 K. Harris, "Patrons," 177. See also the contributions of Martin Foys and Siân Echard in the present volume.

28 The pattern is true of scholarship on the manufacture and trade of goods more generally. See Davis, "Marketing secondhand goods," 271.

29 Sargent, "What do the numbers mean?" 219–20.

30 Bozzolo and Ornato, *Pour une histoire du livre*, 95.

31 Parkes, *Their hands before our eyes*, 42.

32 In England, discussions of lettered activity in the fifteenth century, particularly in the wake of Arundel's Constitutions of 1407/9, have noted a curtailing of the production of new and adventurous literary and religious writings. While the writing of the period may have become more conservative, it is a mistake to restrict our assessment of lettered activity to production (in this case, not exclusively the production of new manuscripts, but also of new works). If, for example, we expand our scope to take in library formation, donation, acquisition from abroad, and so on, we will not only find a sense of vibrancy and enthusiasm about such activity during this allegedly "dull" and censored century, but we will also view the production of works in a richer context. For discussion, see, for example, Van Dussen, "Aristotle's tetragon."

33 For discussion, see D. Bell, "The libraries of religious houses"; and Lovatt, "College and university book collections."

34 On common-profit libraries, see Dodgson, "A library at Pott Chapel"; Hoeppner Moran, "A common-profit library"; and Scase, "Reginald Pecock, John Carpenter and John Colyp's 'common-profit' books."

35 K. Harris, "Patrons," 164.

36 *Ibid*., 172.

37 For discussion of the councils as intellectual environments, including their role as clearinghouses for books, see, for example, Lehmann, "Konstanz und Basel"; Brandmüller, *Das Konzil von Konstanz*; Helmrath, *Das Basler Konzil*; and Swanson, *Universities, academics, and the Great Schism*.

38 For quantitative assessments of this spike in production, see Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift* and Buringh, *Medieval manuscript production*.

39 For more on this, see the chapters by Andrew Taylor, and Keith Busby and Christopher Kleinhenz in this volume.

40 Mooney, "Chaucer's scribe"; Horobin, "Adam Pinkhurst"; Olson, "Author, scribe and curse"; A. Gillespie, "Reading Chaucer's words to Adam"; J. Roberts, "On giving Scribe B a name"; and Edwards, "Chaucer and 'Adam Scriveyn.' "

41 Drogin, *Anathema*.

42 On autograph manuscripts in general, see Golob, *Medieval autograph manuscripts*. On these particular authors, see Laidlaw, "Christine and the manuscript tradition"; Avril, "Les manuscrits enluminés de Guillaume de Machaut"; McGrady, *Controlling readers*; Pearsall, "Gower's Latin"; Horobin, "A manuscript found in the library of Abbotsford House"; Watt, *The making of Thomas Hoccleve's "Series"*; Petrucci, "Minute, autograph, author's book," in his *Writers and readers in medieval Italy*, 145–68; and Signorini, " 'Tracce' petrarchesche: tipologia, analisi, datazione."

43 Bühler, *The fifteenth-century book*, 22.

44 For general discussions, see M. Clarke, *The art of all colours*; Bat Yehouda, *Les encres noires*; de Hamel, *Scribes and illuminators*, 27–44; R. M. Thomson, "Parchment and paper"; and Morgan, "Illumination."

45 Along with Carrie Griffin, I (MJ) am in the process of cataloguing the Middle English, French, and Latin book-making recipes that survive from 1300 to 1500 from England. To date, we have identified over 150 manuscripts that, together, contain over 500 such recipes.

46 Zumthor, *Towards a medieval poetics*; and Cerquiglini, *In praise of the variant*, mark signal, and influential, attempts to theorize manuscript culture broadly; however, both of these important studies are limited in scope because they attend to the issues of a manuscript's textuality, paying scant attention to the materiality of the medieval book.

47 Febvre and Martin, *The coming of the book*; and Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change*. Though not a traditional bibliographer, Marshall McLuhan's work has been influential and deserves mention: see *The Gutenberg galaxy.*

48 Dane, *The myth of print culture*; Johns, *The nature of the book*; and McKitterick, *Print, manuscript and the search for order*. See also Baron, Lindquist, and Shevlin, *Agent of change*.

49 Blair, *Too much to know*; Pettegree, *The book in the Renaissance*; Price, *How to do things with books*; St Clair, *The reading nation*; and Garvey, *Writing with scissors*.

50 Finkelstein and McCleery, *An introduction to book history*, gives scant attention to the pre-Gutenberg codex. See also the essays gathered in Finkelstein and McCleery, *The book history reader*; Hawkins, *Teaching bibliography, textual criticism, and book history*; and Suarez and Woodhuysen, *The Oxford companion to the book*, vol. 1 – all edited, one might note, by scholars of postmedieval

Europe. For monographic series on the history of the book focusing predominantly, or in some cases exclusively, on print, see the University of Pennsylvania Press's Material Texts Series, the University of Toronto Press's Studies in Print and Book Culture, the University of Massachusetts Press's Studies in Print Culture and the History of the Book, the Pennsylvania State University Press's Series in the History of the Book, Palgrave's History of Text Technologies Book Series, and Pickering and Chatto's The History of the Book.

51 On editing, see V. Gillespie and Hudson, *Probable truth*.

CHAPTER 2

# *Bibliographical theory and the textuality of the codex: toward a history of the premodern book*

*Seth Lerer*

A generation ago, in his Panizzi Lectures, "Bibliography and the sociology of texts," Donald F. McKenzie avowed that "A book is never simply a remarkable *object*. Like every other technology it is invariably the product of human agency in complex and highly volatile contexts which a responsible scholarship must seek to recover if we are to understand better the creation and communication of meaning as the defining characteristic of human societies."[1] The study of the book, for McKenzie and for the three decades of "book history" that have followed him, was thus a study of the institutions of communication and the various technologies that gave an object meaning in a structure of literate understanding. Put more simply, "bibliography" has become not simply the process of classifying and describing bound artifacts containing written language. It has become the discipline that studies what is meaningful within those objects, and how that meaning is created and received in the social institutions of their making. What has been developing in the study of the book since McKenzie has been the study of how meaning is transmitted in the physical form, the layout, the script or typeface, the choice of parchment or paper, the handlings and marginalia of readers. What is meaningful in a bound book has become, therefore, what McKenzie called "other forms of visual evidence in the books themselves."[2]

The past thirty years have seen a remarkable development in bibliography as both a practical study of objects and a theoretical reflection on the nature of social communication.[3] Books are to be studied not just for the words they hold. What was done *with* and *to* books matters as much as how they were read. Much of this work has been developed through the study of the modern printed book. Indeed, the phrase "modern printed book" may be defined through such approaches. A modern printed book is one that results from a system designed to create not unique, individual copies, but (ideally) exactly identical replicas. A modern book is not so much an object in itself but a representation of a class of objects. When

we purchase a book in a store or check one out of a library, we expect it to be exactly the same as any other copy, purchasable or borrowable, anywhere in the world. The modern concept of the book has thus decoupled the content from the artifact, and when we now download a text or read an e-book, our expectations are for uniformity of that content.[4]

Such expectations, as scholars have long known, did not constitute the culture of the book until well into the eighteenth century. Until then, all books were, potentially, unique objects. Sometimes, there would be corrections in the middle of the print run. Sometimes types would break and be replaced. Sometimes an author or an editor or a printer would revise the book in mid-print. Sometimes, individual works would have been printed unbound and left to the buyer to bind, sometimes separately, sometimes together with other books. And sometimes books would come off, clean and unadorned from presses, to be personally annotated, illustrated, and distinguished by an owner's hand.[5] It has thus been argued that when early books were personally adorned or illustrated, they became like manuscripts: in Norman Blake's words, "one characteristic of manuscripts is that they are all different."[6]

Manuscripts may be all different, and so, too, are early books. But there are differences among differences. Each manuscript is the unique product of human hands; it represents the work of scribes, correctors, binders, illuminators, and, in some contexts, commercial booksellers. Each manuscript is *designed* to be unique. Early printed books, for all of their resemblance to manuscripts, were never meant to pass as manuscripts. The individuation of a printed book was either accidental in production (through the errors of the print shop) or deliberate in post-production (through the ornamenting, illustrating, or manipulating of the book by a later user). The differences and similarities between the manuscript and early printed book are subtle and complex, and their relationship was, as David McKitterick has put it, a "two-way process": two forms of production that "cohabited … manuscripts supplementing print, and print supplementing manuscript," with one not necessarily regarded as superior to the other, or more old-fashioned than the other.[7]

Whatever their differences and similarities, early printed books and manuscripts did not exist simply as bearers of authorial content. Each individual, handwritten object functioned in a system of collaborative meaning – a system shaped by the commercial, scribal, and social institutions of the time. In McKitterick's words, they were "the creation of a group of individuals not all of whom will have known each other."[8] Within a given manuscript, as well, each individual text bears meaning

in relationship to its surrounding texts. The so-called "Harley lyrics," for example, did not travel as a coherent body of English poetry. Editions of the thirty or so short Middle English poems preserved in London, British Library, Harley MS 2253 that present them as a unit belie their place in the manuscript: interlarded among French and Latin poems and in sequences within religious or historical documents. Even the arrangement of the poems on the page had meaning: visual codes designed to highlight relationships among genre, form, language, and idiom.[9]

My interest lies in how the visual codes, physical appearances, and social habits of reception shaped an "idea of the book" when printed texts and handwritten manuscripts stood side by side. I therefore propose the idea of the *premodern book*: an object that (whether it was written by hand or mechanically reproduced) was understood to be an individual object in its own time and, in modern bibliography, can be described as an individual object in our time. Part of my purpose is to understand how readers "did things" with and to these objects. In this activity, I seek to understand the nature of the premodern book as a response to bibliographical theory largely developed through the study of the modern printed one. But part of my purpose is also to locate this chapter in the arc of this edited volume: to serve as a critical fulcrum between those chapters that study the materials and habits of assembly and reading in manuscript culture, on the one hand, and those that study the borders of literate technologies, on the other hand.

In the course of this chapter, I hope to understand the period of the premodern book not as a transitional one, teleologically driven *from* script *to* print. Rather, I hope to understand this period as one in which the book remains an individual object in a system that was also exploring an idea of the book as representative of a class of objects. Instead of focusing on the history of the book on changes in technology per se, I see the history of the book as written in the social attitudes toward what the object itself represents. Those attitudes are shaped along the axes of commercial interest and aesthetic delectation: that is, recognizing that printers and booksellers made largely economic decisions about what they printed and how they distributed it; but also recognizing that those decisions may generate an aesthetic response from readers, owners, and later, scholars and collectors.

This is a chapter written on the blurry lines between the manuscript and printed book during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and I develop my argument through two case studies. The first examines how the urge to compile or assemble texts in manuscripts shades into compilations in years of early printed books. Here, I review the phenomenon of

the English *Sammelband*: the binding together of printed books, as well as manuscripts, that represent an owner's or a reader's tastes or critical interpretations. *Sammelbände*, in effect, created new books out of individually printed or handwritten texts. The later disassembly of these collections into individually bound objects (by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century librarians and collectors) also created new books. It stripped the old assemblies of their contemporary social meaning at the intersection of commerce and aesthetics. In the process, modern bibliography and librarianship rewrote the history of early print. The study of *Sammelbände* and their history thus illuminates the fluid nature of the codex and requires us to reassess when something is, or is not, a "book."

My second study interrogates the ways in which mass-produced, printed books could be transformed into unique objects. Many early printed books survive that bear the witness of additional illustration, ornamentation, and commentary. Here, I examine the printing of Aldus Manutius' first edition of Catullus, and the ways in which Catullus' first poem – dedicatory verses that take as their subject the physical processes of Roman manuscript production – generates a critical vocabulary for adjudicating between commerce and aesthetics. Aldus' choice of types, his modes of printing, and his own social status among early sixteenth-century humanists, find themselves refracted in the text and look of the Catullus codex. Individual copies of this printed book transform products of the press into unique objects bearing the impress of the human hand. The critical preface and the dedicatory epilogue to the Catullan section of the volume similarly juxtapose technology and handiwork, extolling both the mass production of the book and the skill of the individual printer and editor.

It is the human hand that, in the end, compels my understanding of the textuality of the codex. Michael Warner argued many years ago that the difference between script and print is less a matter of accepting a technology than it is of adapting to estrangement from the body. "Printing" becomes defined as any process that bears "a negative relation to the hand." Printed objects are those "relieved of the pressure of the hand," objects that do not bear the impress of the manual.[10] And yet, as David McKitterick has reminded us, the early printed book remains "the creation of individual craftsmen," and "to examine an early printed book is to seek to understand … the people who made, used and read this particular copy." We need, McKitterick avers, "to remind ourselves of the humanity of their making."[11] To that, I would add the humanity of their use and reception. The meaning of a book or manuscript – whatever the

original, historical environments of making and dissemination – lies in the accrued history of its use and in those moments when it may have lived as something very different from its origin.

## THE COMPILATION AND THE IDEA OF THE BOOK

Medieval literature survives not simply through the copying but through the compilation of the human hand. The works we read and teach, anthologize, and reprint, originally appeared in manuscripts that brought together various materials for social, critical, or pedagogical purpose. Almost no work of medieval vernacular literature was copied on its own. Much of the poetry of Chaucer and Lydgate; just about all the early English lyrics; the alliterative works of history, romance, and social satire; the saints' lives and moral exempla – all of this literature was passed down in assemblies keyed to reader interests, to scribal foci, or to ideals of authorial identity.

Some of these manuscripts have been considered *miscellanies*: collections of texts that grew by accretion over time or that were brought together by chance. Others have been considered *anthologies*: collections that were brought together with an overarching theme or purpose, where the relations among the texts reflect the tastes or interests of a scribe, a bookseller, a reader, or an institution. Manuscript assemblies, however, are not exclusively one or the other. Compilations that grew by chance or opportunity may have "anthologistic" sections governed by an overarching critical or editorial view. Anthologies designed to bring together works for doctrine or delectation may also, over time, have garnered additional leaves or booklets, tacked on by later users. More challengingly, however, compilations that had no original aegis may take on a particular purpose. Texts that were randomly or accidentally juxtaposed may accrue, over time, a relational meaning for new readers or new contexts.[12] As Arthur Bahr has put it, in a recent reassessment of the manuscript cultures of late medieval London, "the compilation" may become "an entity both physical and perspectival, one that relies on its reader's mode of apprehension rather than on its existence as an ontological category."[13]

It is precisely this relationship between the physical and the perspectival that, I believe, governs the ways in which the early printed book circulated with the late medieval manuscript. Things that we think of as individual book-objects may not have functioned historically in this way, especially in an age when many books were sold unbound. Just where the manuscript ends and the book begins, or just where one book exists as an object

and participates in the creation of another larger object, may not be so easy to determine.

William Caxton, England's first printer, intuited this challenge. His English publications illustrate a concern with the encyclopedism of medieval literature: the ways in which Chaucer's *Canterbury tales*, or Gower's *Confessio amantis*, or Malory's *Morte darthur* represent assemblies of material. Caxton calls the *Canterbury tales* a poem full of "many a noble hystorye of every astate and degree."[14] Gower's *Confessio* is "comprysed" of "dyvers hystoryes and fables towchyng every matere."[15] Malory's is a work full of everything – "chyvalrye, curtosye, humanyte, frendlynesse, hardynesse, love, frendshyp, cowardyse, murder, hate, vertue and synne" – that Caxton himself has "devyded" into twelve books.[16] To study Caxton's volumes and to read his prefaces is to recognize how he has transformed the inheritance of medieval English literary writing into individual "books."[17]

But it is also important to recognize that Caxton's customers and later owners of these books also transformed them into larger, bound assemblies, on occasion with medieval manuscripts themselves. These are the *Sammelbände* that have been the object of much recent vigorous scholarship.[18] Several late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century collections can be reconstructed from evidence of ownership, marking, and pagination. Thus, we can see how an early sixteenth-century owner brought together individually printed quartos of Lydgate, Benedict Burgh, Chaucer, and the *Book of curtesye* into an assembly of morally instructive allegories and fables.[19] We can also see how a later, sixteenth-century family assembled books by Caxton's publishing successors (de Worde, Pynson, Copeland, and others) into a collection of entertaining, as well as moral, texts. It is this *Sammelband* that was additionally reconstructed in the eighteenth century, when another owner added a Caxton volume to the beginning, and in that act transformed an assembly valued for its content into a collection valued for its printers – in effect, creating a miniature history of early English printing.[20]

Our fascinations with the *Sammelband* phenomenon are many, but it is an oversimplification to say, merely, that in binding books and manuscripts together early owners saw the two as equal.[21] Assemblies from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century have been reconstructed to show that the function of the manuscript among the printed books could vary. For example, the group of three texts bound together by the professional scribe William Ebesham in the 1490s opens with a religious miscellany in Ebesham's own hand, and then offers two early Caxton texts of moral and religious instruction (John Russell's *Propositio* and the *Officium visitationis*

*BMV*). As Paul Needham has shown, this particular assembly did not simply bring together handwritten and printed books; Ebesham's annotations spread throughout the volume, as if the texts were less individuated codices than occasions for his own, scribal ministrations.[22]

Not all *Sammelbände* are alike. Some may have thematic coherence; some may have an authorial aegis. Some may be more haphazard: accretions of codices that individuals or families may have acquired over time and, for purposes of convenience or preservation, bound together. At stake in their existence is the way in which they illustrate how "books" are fluid entities: how something printed or handwritten in one context can be changed in a later one. These are examples of the changing nature of the individual verbal object. Just what a book actually *was* remained a relational, personalizable, and shifting category.

This shifting category of the book grows out of the late medieval/early modern culture of compilation. Scholars have long known that the habits of the florilegium participated in a broader educational and social process of culling and collecting.[23] But, as Jeffrey Todd Knight has put it, readers did not simply think of their assemblies as "aggregations of text"; they recognized them as "physically aggregated," patched and cut and pasted, folded, sewn, and bound into made and crafted things.[24] This recognition helps us to understand the *Sammelband* phenomenon and the relationships of script and print in such assemblies: that these are, first and foremost, physical objects; that they are, to return to David McKitterick's formulation, "the creation of individual craftsmen" – or to put it more precisely, the creation of individuals who, in their acts of compilation and assembly, function *as* craftsmen. Each *Sammelband* has, again in McKitterick's words, a "humanity" to its making.

The *Sammelband* phenomenon may tell us much about the ways in which the first generations of English printed book owners conceived of literary history, or thought of the canon of their authors, or assembled verbal objects into artifacts of ideology. But the scholarly responses to that phenomenon tell us much, too, about how it has provoked a new understanding of the idea of the book in the first decades of print technology.[25] Whatever the original motives of their earliest collectors, the history of the *Sammelband* illustrates the ways in which print and handwritten textual assemblies work in tandem to define the literary past as the bibliographical past. If the basic argument of "book history" is to hold – that the medium of textual transmission and the visual evidence of the physical object contribute to the meaning of a book – then the manuscript and print assemblies, whatever the intentions of their owners, change the meaning

of the texts that they contain simply by virtue of compiling them. They are, to return to Bahr's formulation, entities both physical and perspectival. But what I would add is that as the physical characteristic of these entities change, so do their perspectival meanings. And as these objects pass through different readers throughout history, their perspectival interpretation may provoke a change in their physical appearance. Adding a Caxton to a pre-existing *Sammelband* changes the physical appearance and the perspectival interpretation of the collection. By contrast, disbanding the *Sammelband* into individually bound, catalogued, and studied "books" changes the perspective through which a modern scholar reads the text.[26]

The history of the *Sammelband* is thus the history of changing notions of the textuality of the codex. Printing, as Knight puts it, did not fix or stabilize textuality. It "multiplied the possibilities for text assembly, accelerating and diversifying habits of the book that nourished a more continuous, developing early vernacular textual culture."[27] From this perspective, then, the study of the *Sammelband* fits into our larger, contemporary fascinations with the fragment and the pastiche, with the dematerialization of the book and with the ways in which the book as object has a meaning. It is, I think, a short step from this fascination with the *Sammelband* to what Garret Stewart has called the book as "demediation." When is a book not a book?, he asks repeatedly. One way of answering his question here might be to say: when a librarian or collector has disbound a *Sammelband*, creating individuated objects grounded in a single author or a printer, rebound and recatalogued. These are what Stewart calls no longer "functional" but "symbolic" objects, totems, or fetishes.[28]

This period of shared textuality, when manuscripts and print existed side by side, was a period that provoked new ways of constructing the textual object. Each reader could become one of McKitterick's "craftsmen," and what we find in the historical, textual objects of this time are moments of what Stewart has called "sudden insistent tangibility": an immediate recognition that the book takes on its meaning not just when we see it with our eyes but when we hold it with our hands.

## A LITTLE BOOK AND ITS 3,000 COPIES

The study of the *Sammelband* provokes us to inquire where a "book" begins and ends. The study of the early printer similarly asks us to interrogate the nature of the codex and the borders of textuality. Everyone knows that early printed books were often modeled on their manuscript antecedents: the organization of the page, the design of types, the uses of

rubrication, and the addition of illustrations or adornments made many printed books appear to look as if they were manuscripts. What would it mean, however, for the early printed book to be in dialogue not so much with the manuscript codex but with the manuscript scroll? What would it mean, in essence, to leap over the preceding history of bound, handwritten texts and seek to evoke or engage with the classical traditions of the roll, and in turn, with conceptions of a social literacy grounded in personal exchange, coterie friendship, or imperial patronage?[29]

Such an engagement, I believe, governs the printing and reception of Aldus Manutius' first edition of the poetry of Catullus, printed in 1502 in a volume together with the poetry of two other Roman love poets, Tibullus and Propertius.[30] Catullus' poems, surviving in a single fourteenth-century manuscript but quickly copied, read, and imitated throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, had an indelible impact on the ideals of the early modern lyric and the notions of erotic language in the shaping of authorial identity.[31] Catullus, undeniably, was a poet of desire. But he was, as well, a poet of book history. His poems often called attention to the modes of their production and reception. He often, much as Martial did a century later, used the idioms of book making as metaphors for understanding or as frames for aesthetic reflection. Catullus enables a reflection on the history of the book that, for humanist scholars and printers, challenges the definition of the book itself and the relationships between the social practices of literary exchange and the technologies that abet them.[32]

The poem that served to introduce Catullus' collection famously presents the poet as reflecting on the mechanics of Roman book making and the cultures of literary dedication.

> Cui dono lepidum nouum libellum
> arida modo pumice expolitum?
> Corneli, tibi: namque tu solebas
> meas esse aliquid putare nugas
> iam tum, cum ausus es unus Italorum
> omne aeuum tribus explicare cartis
> doctis, Iuppiter, et laboriosis.
> quare habe tibi quidquid hoc libelli
> qualecumque; quod, o patrona uirgo,
> plus uno maneat perenne saeclo.

> To whom do I give my elegant new book,
> Freshly polished with dry pumice?
> To you, Cornelius, because you always believed
> My little scraps of verse actually worth something,

> Who just now from among all the Italians dared
> To unfold the entirety of history in three volumes,
> Learned, by Jupiter, and labored.
> So take my little book, for whatever it's worth,
> And O my virgin patron muse,
> Let it last through the years more than one generation.[33]

In a manner both self-promoting and self-effacing, Catullus offers his little book to Cornelius (now taken to be the historian Cornelius Nepos), who had himself produced a massive history in three rolls.[34] Catullus contrasts the smallness, pleasantness, and charm of his little volume with the learned labor of Cornelius' vast history. There is a compelling double edge to such modesty: an attention-getting use of key aesthetic terms designed to locate the poet's work in literary history. Words such as *novum* and *lepidus* are at the core of the Catullan vocabulary, as they announce a programmatic poetics keyed to a new elegance and charm. There is a double edge, as well, to the vocabulary of the book here. Is the pumice dry (*arida*) because it is merely unmixed with water, and thus best for polishing the edges of the parchment roll; or is it dry because it contrasts with the wit and humor of the poetry itself? Is the polish of the roll simply a matter of physical appearance, or does it match the polish of the verse? Does the word *explicare* mean, literally, to unroll, or does it mean, more figuratively, to explicate? And finally, what are the *nugae* of this book? Do they include all of Catullus' poems (surely, the veritable mini-epics of poems 63 through 68 could not be classed as such things), or are they only the short epigrams, satires, and love lyrics, possibly transmitted in a separate volume on their own?[35]

Such questions have provoked five centuries of commentary. What they show is the power of a technical, bibliographical vocabulary to carry aesthetic and social weight. They make, in essence, the "history of the book" the history of literature and, in the process, personalize the physicality of that literature as an object that was handmade (polished with the dry pumice) and held and manipulated by the reader's hands (unrolled). What happens when this kind of bibliographically self-conscious verse shows up in print?

Aldus Manutius was known for many things: for bringing editions of the Greek and Latin classics to a wide range of potential readers; for developing relationships between humanist scholars and publishers to produce clear, philologically accurate editions; for publishing the vernacular authors Petrarch and Dante; for adjudicating between the commerce of book making and the aesthetics of bibliophilia. But it is for two specific

innovations that he is best known among historians of the book: the development of the italic typeface and the printing of the classics in small, octavo volumes. Both, significantly, represent the human hand in action and establish a relationship between the mechanically printed book and the handmade verbal artifact that did not so much break with the manuscript traditions as extend them.[36]

The first edition of Catullus brilliantly brings together all of these concerns: the mechanics of printed reproduction, the work of hands, the relations between the codex and the scroll, and the figurative uses of the idioms of book making for purposes of aesthetic reflection. As with the study of the *Sammelband* phenomenon, the close examination of this single edition invites us to ask where a book ends and begins. Where do we see the object as a mechanically reproduced object and where do we see it as a unique, individualized artifact?

The Aldine Catullus represents a different adjudication between book and manuscript than the many adorned copies of his other texts. The elaborately illuminated copy of Juvenal and Persius of 1501, specially adorned for the Venetian Pisani family, for example, shows us a printed book effectively masquerading as a deluxe manuscript. So, too, the miniatures that grace the 1501 Petrarch, attributed to Benedetto Bordon, transform this copy of a text into an art object.[37]

But there is something different about the Catullus books, and in particular the copy now held in the McCune Collection in the Vallejo, California, Public Library.[38] Here, an individual hand has filled in the blank for the large, initial –C at the beginning of the first poem. A brilliant blue border frames the reddish-pink center of the square. Leafy branches spread diagonally across the frame, and a large, gold –C sits inside. It is a very Roman-looking picture: not an evocation of a medieval manuscript historiated initial, but more like a fresco on a villa wall. Above the poem's text, and similarly above the facing text of the volume's dedicatory letter, Roman capitals stand, looking for all the world like letters from an ancient scroll, and the McCune copy has them bordered by two very Roman-looking scrolls, inked and shaded in red. The printed words now take on the appearance of the handwriting on an unfurled scroll, the edges neatly aligned. The opening pages of this copy do not simply make this book look like a manuscript. They take the language of Roman scroll production, central to the opening poem's idiom, and bring it to life through the impress of the human hand.

These ministrations enhance what was already in Aldus' book. For, even unadorned, his opening pages mime the subject matter of Catullus'

first poem: the relationships among technology, poetics, and the habits of authorial exchange and dedication. Just as Catullus would dedicate his poems to a senior man of letters, so Aldus dedicates this volume to the statesman and bibliophile Marin Sanudo, a "Patrician" of Venice. Aldus announces, at the close of his dedication, that his dedicatee will find Catullus bound up with Tibullus and Propertius, and that they all appear *hac minima forma*, in the same italic typeface, and in a print run of 3,000 copies (*ad tria millia uoluminum*).[39] At the close of the Catullus section, Aldus prints a letter of the scholar Gerolamo Avanzi, the editor of the Catullus text, who announces:

> Aldus Manutius … ex codice catulliano per me miro studio et incredibili labore emendato tria exemplorum milia politis typis impressurus, me iterum ad hanc operam socio usus est.[40]
>
> Aldus Manutius, about to imprint with polished types 3,000 copies from a Catullus codex that had been emended by me through great study and incredible labor, once again used me as an associate in this work.

These two "paratexts" have long been adduced as evidence of the large print run for this volume – as if there were something unique about the Roman love poets that would demand such quantity, and as if now, in octavo format, there could be classic texts filling the shelves and pockets of the humanist audience.

But there is more here. These two letters locate the object in the human hand and set its individuality against 3,000 copies. The polished types that print the letters are the artifacts of human craft. They, rather than the book itself, are the things made by hands. But by the use of the word *politis* and by the recognition that printing is itself a form of *labor*, Avanzi chimes with the Catullan idiom: *pumice expolitum*; *doctis Iuppiter et laboriosis*. These texts evoke the world of human making: of literature as held in physical objects, and of men of letters as (to return to McKitterick's phrasing) "craftsmen."

Aldus was not simply about commerce and culture. He was about aesthetic form. The beauty of his choice of types was as much part of Aldus' reception as the availability of his quarto editions. The italic was quickly recognized as something new and lovely, and Erasmus himself, writing to Aldus in 1507, proposed a new edition of his translations from Euripides explicitly to be presented in italics.

> Existimarim lucubrationes meas immortalitate donates, si tuis exusae formulis in lucem exierint, maxime minutioribus illis omnium nitidissimis.[41]

I should consider that my efforts were given immortality if they were to be published in your type, especially that small font which is the most elegant of all.

This association between typographical elegance and literary immortality hearkens back to Catullus' first poem, where the aesthetic niceties of the parchment scroll resonate with the new language of the poet's idiom and the impressive achievement of Cornelius' history. Both documents are about reputation and the physical appearance of the text.

Both documents, too, are about small things. The Latin idiom used for the Aldine italic literally means "the little form." The word "forma" means typeface; *minutioribus* is Erasmus' term for the small one, that is, the italic. In the preface to Catullus, Aldus states that the work should come into the hands of his dedicatee, Marino Sannuto, *hac minima forma*, that is, in this small (i.e., italic) type. It is this sense of littleness that resonates with the Catullan aesthetic of small things: the *libellus* that he offers to Cornelius; the *nugae* that he modestly presents. The small challenges the large: in the case of Catullus, the enormous three-volume history of Italy; in the case of Aldus, the 3,000-copy print run of the edition.

Where does one book end and another begin? When does one copy become meaningfully unique and how does it compare with the run of the entire edition? When does one codex become a book and then become part of another book? My explorations here suggest that the codex as a meaningful, textual object is a mobile category. Its meaning lies in relationship to other codices: in the case of the *Sammelband*, the other "books" with which it had been bound and read; in the case of Aldus' Catullus, the other thousands of copies, each one supposedly identical in text to the other, but clearly unique in marks of ownership, adornment, or individual possession.

The Aldine Catullus marks the various interrelations of commerce and aesthetics, authority and authorship. Avanzi's comments imply that the book here is itself a compilation. The three poets have been brought together, but his editorial hand lies only in the Catullus section. Catullus' first poem thus constitutes not only the opening of the Catullan sequence; it constitutes an additional, introductory reflection on textuality for the entire volume, another preface after the prose preface on the previous page.

All of this takes me back to Michael Warner's idea of the "pressure of the hand." What does it mean to find a printed book that bears that pressure? Does it enable such a book to function as if it were a manuscript in an environment of social and commercial exchange? Avanzi's letter juxtaposes the mechanical and the manual. 3,000 copies are, by their very

multitude, incapable of being made by hand. Such a number can only be mechanically reproduced, and I wonder just how much this is a reckoning of objects and how much it is a figure of speech. *Tria milia* is a large number. It may be as meaningfully precise as Catullus' own reckoning of kisses. In poem 5 he famously announces:

> Da mi basia mille, deinde centum
> Dein mille altera, dein secunda centum;
> Deinde usque altera mille, deinde centum.
>
> Give me a thousand kisses, then another hundred,
> Then another thousand, then a second hundred,
> Then still another thousand, then a hundred.[42]

It is enough, he then says, to drive us to confusion (*conturbabimus illa*). And so, for Avanzi, 3,000 copies would be far too many for a writer. They can only be the product of the press. But they remain set in polished types; types which, by virtue of their very fineness, are the product of the human hand, cut, shaped, and finished cleanly. The idiom of the polished type echoes the idiom of the polished ends of the old vellum scrolls: both are activities of manual embellishment. For the reader of the book, that hand is, too, his own. By printing 3,000 copies, the preface says, this book will come into your hands (*in manus tuas*) and those of everyone else (*et caeterorum*) easily and consistently (*commode assidueque*). Just as Catullus' first poem makes the act of literary making a craft of hands and tools, so too, this volume opens itself up to the manipulations of another's hand.

I end where I began. "A book is never simply a remarkable *object*." An implication of my work here suggests that we cannot study or describe an individual book object without meaningful reference to the class of objects to which it belongs. That class of objects may be a print run; it may be an edition; it may be a *Sammelband* into which it had been bound. In the end, the meaning of a book is constantly shifting over time and place. The single object changes in the systems of exchange, the habits of ownership, the economies of possession, and the aesthetic valuations of an individual. For the world of the premodern book, those habits and systems include the various technologies of literacy that operated, side by side, during a period of technological transition. As I have sought to show here, such technologies involve more than the transition "from script to print." They involve the use of handwritten and mechanically reproduced books together: in binding, cataloguing, or physical treatment. Moreover, as my work with Aldus has suggested, the economies of print may provoke a self-conscious critical engagement with the culture of the scroll: a search

for literary authority in an age of mechanical reproduction. Catullus took that relationship between literary authority and the physical production of books as his theme, and in the paratexts and personal manipulations of Aldus' edition we may see that theme palpably explored. Every book may have a history. Whenever we pick up and open any volume, we irrevocably change its status. The history of the book becomes the record of those changes.

## NOTES

1 McKenzie, *Bibliography and sociology of texts*, 4. These lectures were originally delivered in 1985.
2 *Ibid*.
3 See Darnton and Roche, *Revolution in print*; R. Chartier, *Order of books*; McGann, *Textual condition*; Johns, *Nature of the book*; D. McKitterick, *Print, manuscript and order*; Price, *How to do things with books*.
4 For a different definition of the "modern" book as generated out of the relations among university instruction, humanist classicism, and popular reading, see Petrucci, "Alle origini del libro moderno," discussed in N. Barker, "Aldine italic."
5 D. McKitterick, *Print, manuscript and order*, and Dane, *What is a book?* For a technical case study of such phenomena, see Lerer and Dane, "Press variants in Stow's Chaucer."
6 Blake, "Manuscript to print," esp. 404–5.
7 D. McKitterick, *Print, manuscript and order*, 52.
8 *Ibid.*, 139.
9 Lerer, "Medieval English literature"; Dane, "Page layout and textual autonomy." For a review of the entire manuscript and its codicological challenges, see Fein, *Studies in the Harley manuscript*. Note that an edition and translation of the entire manuscript is forthcoming from Medieval Institute Publications, to be edited by S. Fein.
10 M. Warner, *Letters of the Republic*, 7.
11 D. McKitterick, *Print, manuscript and order*, 139.
12 See Hanna, "Miscellaneity and vernacularity"; Boffey and Thompson, "Anthologies and miscellanies"; Lerer, "Medieval English literature"; Connolly, "Compiling the book"; and *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700*, 16 (2012) (a special issue, *Manuscript miscellanies, c. 1450–1700*, ed. R. Beadle and C. Burrow).
13 Bahr, *Fragments and assemblages*, 14.
14 Blake, *Caxton's own prose*, 62.
15 *Ibid.*, 69–70.
16 *Ibid.*, 109.
17 See the texts and discussions in Blake, *Caxton's own prose*. For a variety of (sometimes competing and sometimes complementary) views of Caxton's

literary goals and achievements, see Kuskin, *Symbolic Caxton*, and A. Gillespie, *Print culture*.

18 Needham, *Printer and the pardoner*; A. Gillespie, "Caxton's Chaucer and Lydgate quartos," and her "Poets, printers, and *Sammelbände*"; Lerer, "Medieval literature and modern readers"; Dane, *What is a book?*, 171–8; Knight, *Bound to read*, 24–53.

19 Needham, *Printer and the pardoner*, 70; A. Gillespie, "Caxton's Chaucer and Lydgate quartos," and her "Poets, printers, and *Sammelbände*."

20 See Lerer, "Medieval literature and modern readers."

21 For a review and critique of the cliché that the incunable somehow "imitated" the manuscript and that late fifteenth-century readers saw both on equal terms, see M. M. Smith, "Design relationship."

22 See Needham, *Printer and the pardoner*, 71, and Doyle, "Work of a scribe."

23 See Hanna, "Miscellaneity and vernacularity"; Boffey and Thompson, "Anthologies and miscellanies"; Crane, *Framing authority*; Moss, *Printed commonplace-books*.

24 Knight, *Bound to read*, 8.

25 Compare A. Gillespie, "Poets, printers, and *Sammelbände*," 193, who sees *Sammelbände* as offering evidence of large-scale habits of printing and reading, and Dane, *What is a book?*, 178, who sees them, instead, as largely products of the "eccentricities of individual readers" without any "generalizable" conclusions.

26 A. Gillespie, "Printers, poets, and *Sammelbände*," and Knight, *Bound to read*.

27 Knight, *Bound to read*, 12.

28 Stewart, "Bookwork as demediation."

29 On the broad issues of the scroll and social literacy in the ancient world, see C. H. Roberts and Skeat, *Birth of the codex*; W. V. Harris, *Ancient literacy*; Roemer, "Papyrus roll."

30 *Catullus, Tibullus, Propetius* (sic). For the contexts of its publication and the broader environments in which Aldus worked, see the indispensible Lowry, *World of Aldus Manutius*, esp. 141–9.

31 Gaisser, *Catullus and his Renaissance readers*, and the distillation of her work in "Catullus in the Renaissance."

32 Catullus frequently uses the idioms of Roman book production in his critiques of poetic craft. See the commentary in Quinn, *Catullus: the poems*, especially on poems 1, 22, 35, and 36, from whose edition I quote all texts. See also Batstone, "Dry pumice," and Lorenz, "Catullus and Martial."

33 Text from Quinn, *Catullus: the poems*, 1; all translations of Catullus are mine.

34 See *ibid.*, 88–90.

35 See Batstone, "Dry pumice," and Skinner, "Authorial arrangement."

36 Lowry, *World of Aldus Manutius*, especially the following remarks: "There is no reason for refusing to take Aldus' boast that both his Greek and Latin cursives were as beautiful as anything written with a pen, at its simple face-value as a statement of his aims. In both languages, he was trying to give his printed texts the respectability of the most fashionable manuscript

books. He was trying to shake printing out of the stylistic lethargy into which it had fallen since Jenson's death" (141); "Prayer was almost the only occasion which required the individual to carry a book about his person. The scholar was expected to deploy a large folio on his study lectern … Aldus' originality lay in applying what had been a rather specialized book-form [i.e., octavo] to a new and wider field. The Latin titles which he published in octavo were all eminently safe … [By] combining … the smaller format and most acceptable titles, Aldus was freeing literature from the study and the lecture-room" (143). See, too, Davies, *Aldus Manutius*, and Fletcher, *In praise of Aldus Manutius*.

37 See the color reproduction of the Juvenal in Davies, *Aldus Manutius*, frontispiece, and the color reproduction of the Petrarch in Fletcher, *In praise of Aldus Manutius*, pls. 1–2.

38 Portions of the volume are available in color reproductions at: www.mccunecollection.org/Latin%20Book%20-%20Catullus,%20Tibullus,%20Propertius.html.

39 Sig. A i verso.

40 Sig. F ii verso. A portion of the text is printed and discussed briefly in Lowry, *World of Aldus Manutius*, 174 n. 96.

41 In *Collected works of Erasmus*, vol. 11, 132–3, epistle 207, quoted and translated in Carlson, *English humanist books*, 108 and 226 n. 15.

42 Catullus 5.7–9; Quinn, *Catullus: the poems*, 3–4.

CHAPTER 3

# *What is a manuscript culture?*
## *Technologies of the manuscript matrix*

*Stephen G. Nichols*

Medieval manuscripts occupy an anomalous position in modern culture. Collectors pay large sums for them, especially the illuminated examples; museums organize exhibitions around them; libraries acquire and preserve them; text editors base critical editions on them; and scholars extol them as authentic artifacts. So they are indeed visible. But do we really *register* what they have to tell us about the role they played in shaping the culture of their own time?

If we don't, it's because we've been conditioned to think of them not for what they actually are, but rather as archaic precursors of printed books, on the one hand, and unreliable witnesses of medieval works, on the other. That is why textual scholars have long sought to supplant them with critical editions. This may seem surprising given our immersion in born-digital modes of representation. Yet, despite our technological sophistication, we still view medieval manuscripts through the prism of analog protocols developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the following pages, I want to suggest first some misconceptions surrounding these authentic medieval cultural artifacts and then to suggest ways of understanding them as a "technology."

In the modern imaginary, medieval manuscripts, however artistic, figure as a primitive form of publication for at least three reasons. First, as objects that are handwritten by a scribe and decorated by an artist, each is unique; that is, manuscripts are not one of a (mechanically reproduced) series of identical items. Secondly, because manuscripts were each produced individually, they lack the uniformity moderns associate with accurate representation. This means, thirdly, that manuscripts do not transmit an author's work integrally in its original form. Manuscripts, in short, are held to represent artisanal rather than technological reproduction and are thus prey to the vicissitudes of idiosyncratic and contingent factors. In short, they could not have been more different from our own standards of reproduction.

To the modern world, then, manuscript transmission of medieval works conjured the image of an individual scribe, whose hand graphically imposed its presence as the tenuous link between author and reader. How could one be certain that a scribe's mind and imagination had not exceeded "the strictly mechanical task" of copying the author's text? The answer, of course, was clear: scribes not only could *not* avoid leaving their mark upon the work, there was no expectation that they should. After all, scribes frequently worked with versions of a work the poet him/herself (who was often long dead) had never seen. If a passage in the work suggested other examples or anecdotes, why not simply include them? For the Middle Ages this did not pose a problem.

Modern philologists view the situation differently. Accustomed to a fixed text reflecting so far as possible the author's original intention, they deplored textual transmission that was susceptible to scribal "error" and commentary. To correct such contingencies, they created the critical edition based strictly on the text and excluding all information contained in the manuscripts judged extraneous to the text of the work, narrowly construed. This means ignoring paintings, rubrics, commentaries, decoration, and marginalia; in short, all the components that typify manuscript representation. To avoid scribal error and bias found in individual manuscripts, text editors typically consult multiple manuscripts of a work in order to construct a printed edition whose text supposedly reflects as closely as possible the author's original intentions, purged of scribal interference. The critical edition thus transforms a medieval artifact into a printed book reflecting modern principles of textual scholarship. Although a modern construct, the "restored" work stands as a "master version" to be read in place of its medieval (i.e., manuscript) iterations.

But medieval manuscripts were not books in the way printing came to define them. Nor were their contents confined solely to the literary text of the work (as one finds in critical editions, for example). How do they differ, then? The short answer is "In almost every way imaginable," beginning with how they were produced. Although the medieval scriptorium (workshop for copying and painting manuscripts) is often portrayed in a monastic setting (as, for example, in Umberto Eco's *The name of the rose*), by the late thirteenth century major manuscript production occurred in workshops located in city centers. To take the example of Paris, for instance – the major center of book production in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries – manuscript ateliers clustered in contiguous streets of the Latin Quarter near the Seine.

This means that manuscript books were products of an urban micro-culture where every aspect of production was carried out by artisans living in the same or nearby streets. Preparation for copying a text included transforming the animal skin into parchment, grinding minerals and plant products for pigments and ink, and planning the layout of the codex in columns with spaces for miniatures, decorated and historiated initials, marginalia, and rubrics. The actual production of the work involved copying the text, decorating the margins, and painting the illuminations, determining the binding, and, finally, delivering the codex to its patron.

This micro-culture also left its imprint on the contents of the codex. While the work or works to be copied furnished the impetus for the commission, they were but one component of the book's *dispositio* (layout). Although modern critical editions have taught us to eschew non-textual components, it would be a mistake to discount their crucial contribution not only to the way the codex represents its work(s), but also to the sense of the works themselves. These components include both verbal and visual elements such as rubrics, miniature paintings, decorated or historiated initials, marginal embellishments, glosses, etc. The crucial contribution of these components to the reception and perception of a work can be seen when we view the "same" work as represented by different manuscripts. For moderns accustomed to finding virtually the same text of an author's work in editions published at different times, it's startling to discover the wide variation of treatments of a work by different codices. More unsettling still is the great difference in reading experience of a work from one manuscript to another. These variations have everything to do with the non-textual components of the codex that critical editions claim to be extraneous to the work. Manuscripts, you see, situate their texts in contemporary history.

Figure 3.1, for example, shows a page from a manuscript copy of the *Grandes chroniques de France.* As the official history of France, compiled and kept current by the monks of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis from the early thirteenth century, this was a work much in demand by nobles or institutions requiring a copy of the nation's history. The page shown here comes from the personal copy of King Charles V, and illustrates how manuscripts were used to shape cultural and political perceptions. It does so thanks to the interaction of text and image, rubrics and interpolated passages; in other words, by representational components that medieval manuscript culture invented and cultivated as its own unique form of multimedia literacy.

Figure 3.1. *Grandes chroniques de France*, Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr 2813, f. 357v (Paris, 1375–80).

Rubrics at the bottom of the first text column, as well as at the top and further down on the second column of text, describe the historical context and actions portrayed in the miniature painting. The first states, "How the King of England performed homage to the King of France at Amiens for the Duchy of Aquitaine and the County of Ponthieu, just as he was bound to do." The second, beginning on line six of the second column, marks an important moment in the text that the reader should pay special attention to: "Here follows the sense of the letter bearing his official seal that the King of England sent and which contains the form of the homage that the King of England performed at Amiens to the King of France for the above-named lands."[1] Meanwhile on the previous folio (f. 357r), Raoulet d'Orleans, one of Charles V's favorite scribes, rewrote the rubric accompanying a miniature showing King Edward kneeling before Philip VI at Amiens. Raoulet's new wording reads: "How the King of England traveled by sea to the city of Amiens where the aforementioned King of England had to perform liege homage to the King of France for the Duchy of Aquitaine and the County of Ponthieu as vassal (*homme*) of the King of France."[2]

However interesting in themselves, for our purposes these historical details illustrate the ease by which scribes could retroactively inflect historical manuscripts with evidence in support of subsequent political policy. In this case, a half-century after the events described, Charles V desired his official court copy of the *Grandes chroniques* to record unequivocally – in pictures, text, and rubric – that Edward III had violated his sworn oaths of fealty to the French crown when, in 1337, he invaded France. In 1377, Charles V wished to leave no doubt as to English responsibility for starting the Hundred Years War. To make this happen, Raoulet d'Orleans simply scraped away earlier text to substitute new wording. That does not mean, however, that the effaced text would necessarily disappear. Parchment is organic and medieval inks were natural dyes made from vegetable matter. As animal flesh, parchment absorbs the dyes of the ink used by scribes. This means that nothing written on parchment is ever entirely lost. While the surface may be scraped clean and written over, faint traces of the underlying text remain under the surface. The effaced text can sometimes be reconstructed by modern technologies, particularly computer-enhanced imaging.

More interesting from our viewpoint than the mechanics of "updating" manuscripts is *why* such interventions should take place so readily. To alter an historical document suggests that manuscript technology and cultural perception must have had a degree of consonance with attitudes about written records. They must, in short, reflect shared viewpoints. To

understand the manuscript folio as "a partner" in the representational process, we have to understand manuscript culture itself as a way of representing the world in accord with contemporary perception. This means that "history" could be arranged to support current belief. For instance, when Charles V commissioned Raoul de Presles to translate St. Augustine's *City of God* into French in the 1370s, Raoul added glosses on French history. Paris, on his account, rivaled Rome and Jerusalem in age, having been founded in the time of Jeroboam, King of Israel and Amaziah, King of Judah. Since Jeroboam succeeded King Solomon in 930 BC, Raoul situates the founding of Paris shortly after Solomon built the First Temple in Jerusalem.[3] One could hardly find a more striking example of manuscript culture's presentist politics.

The presentist orientation of manuscripts is not surprising if we think of the parchment page as a space where the hand of the writer slowly enters an amalgamation of what he or she (there *were* female scribes) perceives – where perception is the synthesis of seeing and thinking. It is not by accident that images – aptly named "illuminations" – play so prominent a role in manuscript culture.[4] The dynamics of the parchment page – which I like to think of as the "manuscript matrix" – conjure not an inert place of inscription, but rather an interactive space inviting continual representational and interpretive activity.[5] We might also think of the parchment page as composed of interstices inviting insertion, such as images, rubrics, or interpolations. What medieval rhetorical treatises call *energeia* (ἐνέργεια) is the rhetorical force driving the dynamics of interstice.[6]

This means that we can view the manuscript matrix as first

> a place of radical contingencies: of chronology, of anachronism, of conflicting subjectivities, or representation. The multiple forms of presentation on the manuscript page can often provoke rupture between perception and consciousness, so that what we actually perceive may differ markedly from what poet, artist, or artisan intended to express or from what the medieval audience expected to find. In other words, the manuscript space contains gaps through which the unconscious may be glimpsed.[7]

Or, to put it slightly differently, the multiple sign systems on the page stimulate cognitive reflections by the reader/viewer – medieval and modern – in accord with diverse experiences of the world. And secondly, in consequence, we might conceive it as a space of

> gaps or interstices, in the form of interventions in the text made up of interpolations of visual and verbal insertions which may be conceived, in Jacques Lacan's terms, as "pulsations of the unconscious" by which the "subject reveals and conceals itself." If the effects of language in ordinary speech divide the subject, then

the doubling of perceptual fields in the manuscript matrix into verbal and visual forms produces conditions favoring an even greater split in the subject represented by the speaking voice(s).[8]

For these reasons, it's helpful to think of *dispositio* as the dynamic element that transforms the manuscript page or folio into a multimedia space. In fine, *dispositio* actively distributes text, image, rubrics, etc. in such a way as to invite active participation on the reader's part. This, in turn, tells us that the folio's representational space is iconic and distributed rather than text-centric and hierarchical. Whereas reading privileges verbal text and relegates images to merely "illustrating" textual meaning, dynamic perception holds all representational signs as iconic, positing meaning in different ways. It's easier for us to comprehend writing as graphic sign when we remember that each letter in a manuscript was drawn by hand, and thus unique, in the same way as a painting was drawn by the artist's brush. Since medieval readers had no conception of mechanical printing (at least until the very end of the Middle Ages), it was natural for them to view the parchment page as consisting of different kinds of images, each positing meaning that engaged the other systems. It was up to the viewer to register and synthesize the several systems and interpret their collective meaning. Once we begin to think of the parchment page as a system of signs all of which contribute elements whose synthesis in turn contributes meaning to the work as a whole, we can also understand how they interact to guide the viewer's experience and understanding.[9]

By now it should be clear why it's not simply anachronistic, but misleading to think of medieval codices as book-like objects, where "book-like" refers to print publications. To do so is to define the medieval codex retroactively from the perspective of mechanical printing. And that's pretty much how modernism has defined written artifacts of the Middle Ages – by isolating them from the culture that they reflect and helped to shape. Since that culture was intensely imbricated with the natural world and consequently conscious of the place of humans in nature, we should not be surprised to find codices obsessively incorporating these themes. In particular, they represent the making of manuscripts – and the works they represent – as reflective of larger human endeavors. As urbanism progressed in the fourteenth century, bourgeois and aristocratic figurations progressively occupied an ever-expanding social and cultural space from the natural world.[10] Evolving manuscript technologies were very much a part of the new landscape of human encroachment – if not conquest – over

nature, which helps explain why poets, scribes, and artists invoke this encroachment so frequently and in so many ways.

Here's just one example. In the dead of winter in 1456, François Villon – a somewhat problematic cleric, but a genuinely original poet – ended his first series of poems, *Le lais* (*The legacy*), with an unforgettable image. It's late on a winter's night in a garret in the Latin Quarter of Paris. Exhausted, Villon's trying to finish a poem, but the fire's gone out for want of fuel, his ink's frozen, the last candle's snuffed by the wind whistling through the walls:

> Puis que mon sens fut a repos
> E l'entendement desmellé,
> Je cuiday finer mon propos,
> Mais mon ancrë trouvay gelé
> Et mon cierge trouvay soufflé;
> De feu j'eusse peu finer,
> Si m'endormis, tout enmouflé,
> Et ne peuz autrement finer.[11]

Since my mind's stalled, frayed, and my wits scattered, I thought it time to end this, but found my ink frozen, and my candle snuffed; no hope of finding light, so I went to sleep, all wrapped up: no other way to end.

Villon's image could be the origin of the idea many people have of how medieval books were written: by a lone monk sitting in the scriptorium or library of his monastery, laboriously copying a text onto parchment. Every now and then he'll stop to warm his fingers over a fire hardly big enough to heat the large room. That's the romantic image of how these beautiful texts took shape, portrayed by nineteenth-century writers and historians like Victor Hugo or Jules Michelet. But it's one they found to a certain extent in their medieval sources.

Self-referentiality is one of the fascinating things about medieval manuscripts: artists, writers, and scribes take pride in depicting themselves. Below, we'll look at some paintings showing the author at work on the very manuscript one's reading. Such paintings conflate author and scribe to suggest what to the medieval mind was self-evident: scribe and poet are inextricably bound as two parts of the creative and reproductive process. Let's look first at a more modest example of self-referentiality, which is the more telling in its spontaneity. Figure 3.2 shows a bas-de-page sketch from a troubadour *chansonnier* (songbook) produced in Padua in the atelier of Giovanni Gaibana around 1280. Unlike some *chansonniers*, this one (New York, Morgan Library, MS 819, also known as Chansonnier N) has no regular program of miniature paintings, but it does feature an

Figure 3.2. Bas-de-page drawing of a poet/scribe reciting troubadour poetry he is copying into a manuscript (shown here as a scroll). New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 819, f. 63 (Padua, *c.*1280).

incomplete set of author "portraits" (Figure 3.3), where each poet appears in an historiated initial at the head of the section devoted to the songs of that troubadour.[12]

Figure 3.2 occurs in the section devoted to the poems of Folquet de Marselh, where marginal or bas-de-page sketches suddenly appear. Since the images are keyed to particular words or passages in the songs by sigla (superscripted signs), which they are meant to illustrate, they are contemporaneous with the making of the manuscript. The interest of the sketch in Figure 3.2 lies in its twofold self-consciousness: first as representing the scribe-as-singer, recalling that troubadour lyrics were once performed orally by jongleurs (singers), who went from one court to another singing songs here "performed" instead in writing. The author

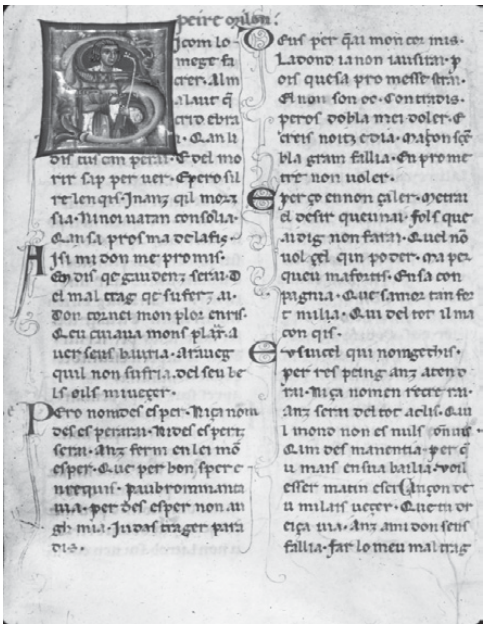


Figure 3.3. Author "portrait" of troubadour Peire Milon. New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 819, f. 103r (Padua, *c.*1280).

"portraits" and this bas-de-page sketch evoke the absent performer. Secondly, the sketch shows the scribe at his writing desk with a scroll rather than a parchment (the scroll being the convention often used in manuscript paintings to represent lyric). The archaic scroll convention and the presence of the unusual sketch itself suggest a consciousness of loss, a sense of the limits of manuscript representation: while the codex can represent the text in the voice, it cannot reproduce the voice in the text. Written performance preserves lyric substance, but not lyric singing. So the bas-de-page sketch in Figure 3.2 mimes the sound of music by way of reminding the reader that the scribe is *not* a jongleur. This suggests an ambivalent consciousness on the part of the makers of manuscripts. Whereas we tend to think of the codex as a means of preserving medieval culture, scribes themselves – at least in the case of troubadour song – appear conscious of a vanished world of oral performance beyond the reach of writing.

Or, less nostalgically and following the lead of Figure 3.3, we could argue that placing the author portraits within an historiated initial

symbolizes a positive view of the transition from oral to written performance in the codex. The capital letter at the beginning of each author section "contains," or even "imprisons," the poet behind the cross-bar of the capital "S" as with Peire Milon on folio 103r (Figure 3.3). The poet literally stands behind the text as a guarantor of its authenticity, an attestation he had been wont to make either in person or through his surrogate, the jongleur, when they sang the songs in person. When the poet's image peers out from within the negative space of a colored, enlarged initial – spaces often as round as a singer's open mouth – the reader "sees" rather than hears the song's sound – which is, after all, the point of parchment presentations.

Author portraits have another role in codices, and one that also suggests something more than meets the eye. In this case, the manuscript incorporates images of the author, either at the beginning, to point to the authentic filiation of the work back to its originator, or, in the case of works with several authors, they might be represented at the juncture where the first author's text stops, and the second one's begins. That all sounds straightforward enough until we realize the blurred boundaries between poet and scribe in a manuscript. The scribe stands in for the poet, having responsibility for transmitting the latter's work as authentically as possible – or at least as the scribe understands that concept. Figure 3.4 offers a prime example of scribe-as-surrogate poet. It comes from Girard Acarie's version of the *Roman de la rose*, produced *c*.1520 for King François I of France. Acarie's talent as a painter dominates the codex, with miniature paintings regularly taking up half, if not three quarters, of a given folio. Aside from suggesting Girard's natural desire to display his artistic talent for his royal patron, the dominance of paintings over verbal text perhaps signals Girard's shrewd sense that King Francis would prefer to look at Acarie's paintings of the *Rose* than to read it.

Poet portraits are thus as much about the presence of the scribe in the manuscript as they are about the original author. Since the *dispositio*, art, and handwriting of later manuscripts tend to be more accomplished than those of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, it's understandable that scribes should have taken pride – and credit – for their work. Still, the original poet is very much "the ghost in the machine." It suits the living scribe to portray the (dead) author because readers would recognize that credit for the sumptuous parchment book they're reading (in the case of aristocratic patrons) could only be the work of the scribe and his atelier. In other words, we can't discount the role of an aesthetics

Figure 3.4. Composite author "portrait" showing Guillaume de Lorris and/or Jean de Meun, the poets responsible for bipartite *Roman de la rose* in *c.*1235 and 1280, respectively. New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 948 f. 5r (Paris *c.*1520–5).

of luxury objects in enhancing the experience of owning a codex in the Middle Ages.

Of course, the majority of manuscripts in the Middle Ages were not luxury items, even if a disproportionate number of the latter have survived (for obvious reasons). Figure 3.5, for example, shows what would have been the quality of codex that merchants could afford. It's a copy of the *Roman de la rose* showing the point where Guillaume de Lorris's unfinished dream allegory breaks off and Jean de Meun begins his approximately 18,000-line continuation: a philosophical treatise and satire on the principles and concept of *fin'amors* or what moderns call courtly love. The Dartmouth *Rose* (Dartmouth College, MS Rauner Codex 3206) marks the transition from Guillaume to Jean by a miniature painting showing Guillaume seated at a writing desk, with Jean coming out of the "wings" on the right to take over Guillaume's task.

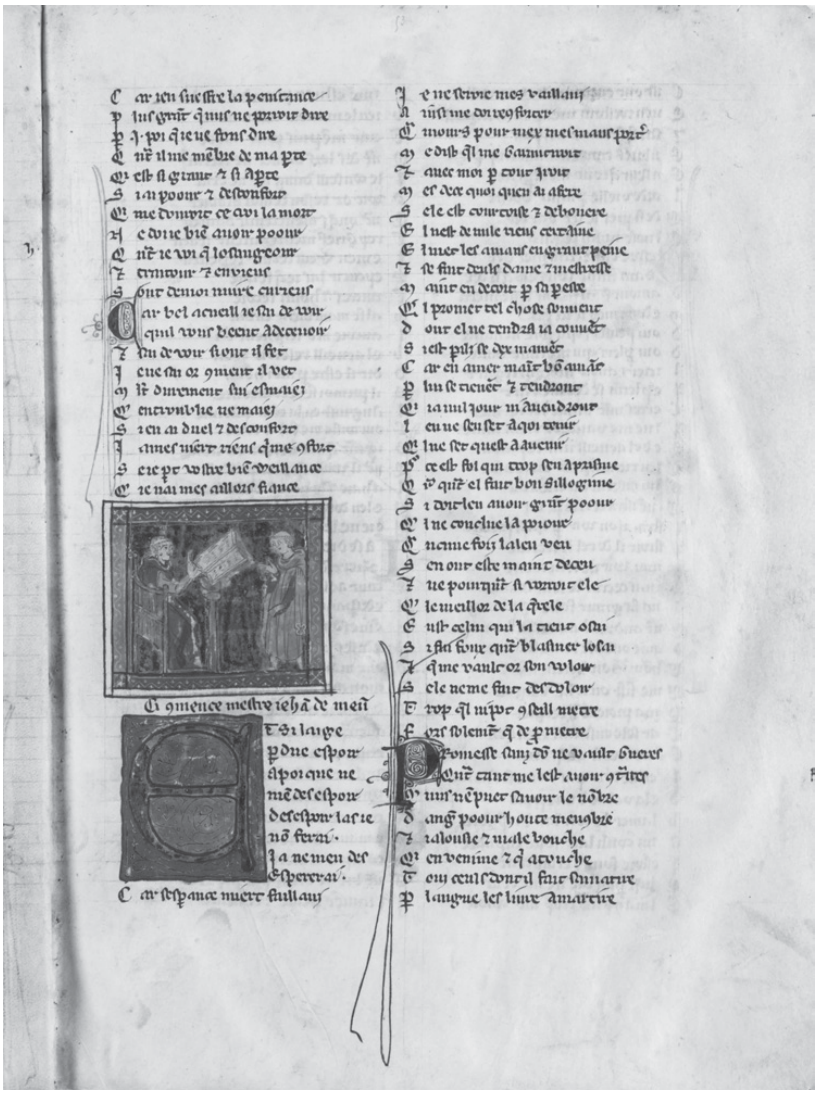


Figure 3.5. Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le roman de la rose*, miniature marking the transition from Guillaume to Jean's continuation. Rubric under painting reads: "Ci commence mestre Jehan de Meun." Dartmouth College, MS Rauner Codex 3206, f. 27r (Paris, *c.*1330–50).

A large decorated initial immediately below the miniature marks the first word of Jean's text by way of underlining the break between the two. The miniature and enlarged initial are additions of the artist, since Jean's text does not acknowledge the change of poet for another 6,000 lines – all of which indicates very clearly that medieval scribes were as conscious as we are of the seismic shift between Guillaume's lovely but conventional poem and Jean's revolutionary creation. The concern of scribe and artist to mark the exact moment of authorial transition suggests that medieval readers were impatient with Jean's ruse of concealing his authorship for thousands of lines before announcing the exact lines where Guillaume's section breaks off and his begins. The demarcation images suggest that medieval readers recognized the very different styles of the two poets and wanted to know exactly where they would need to shift from Guillaume to Jean. The markers also attest the difficulty (in the absence of page and line numbers) of locating such a key transition in a large codex. The demarcation images also remind us that since manuscripts had no line numbers and varied in how they presented even the same work, readers needed a visual cue to determine the exact moment of transition from one author to the other.

The Morgan *Rose* (New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 948) by Girard Acarie for François I marks the transition from Guillaume to Jean even more dramatically. Acarie chooses to illustrate the break by following the God of Love's description from the poem's midpoint some 181 folios further on. There Love says that Guillaume died before finishing the poem but that he (Love) has a loyal poet named Jean de Meun who took over at the exact point where Guillaume breaks off.

Girard Acarie's painting vividly competes with the narrative, which emphasizes loss and continuity, the inconstancy of fortune, and the power of art. The image shows the dead figure of Guillaume de Lorris, laid out on a table awaiting burial. Shelves of books on the walls and an alcove where we glimpse a bed and writing desk (themes from Guillaume's allegorical dream vision) identify the corpse as the poet, Guillaume. The two columns of text in the lower register of the folio, as well as the pathway leading to the horizon, graphically convey the power of art to surmount death.

Author portraits are as varied and numerous as medieval codices themselves. Related to them but with a more profound sociopolitical and aesthetic dimension are the presentation miniatures found at the beginning of many illuminated (and often luxurious) manuscripts. They are somewhat akin in motivation to the donor panels to be seen at the base of

many stained-glass windows in Romanesque and Gothic churches in that they hope to win favor for the donors. But donors of stained-glass and book patrons have very different roles.

Quite simply, patronage is one of the most important motivating factors in medieval book making. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, parchment books were principally scriptural in nature – Bibles, and other kinds of ritual volumes – so religious foundations, churchmen, and the nobility were the principal patrons. By the thirteenth century, when the rise in vernacular literature created a demand for codex copies, the social base of patronage broadened considerably to include the urban professional and merchant classes who lived in the *bourg* or secular part of a city. Nevertheless, the nobility remained a driving force in literary patronage, particularly for large, illuminated codices.

Figure 3.6, for example, shows the frontispiece illumination of a fourteenth-century French translation of Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* (a compilation of exploits of great men from world history) in the Arsenal Library (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 5080 réserve). It portrays Jeanne de Bourgogne, Queen of France from 1328 to 1348, the patron of Jehan de Vignay's translation of Vincent's Latin text. Regally crowned by a gold, fleur-de-lys diadem, a retinue of ladies-in-waiting behind her, Jeanne directs Jehan with raised hand and index finger extended in the consecrated gesture of authority while her right hand rests on the top of the Latin *Speculum* she's commisioned Jehan to translate for her son, the future Jean II (r. 1350–64). Before the queen sits Jehan de Vignay making the translation, a copy of Vincent's Latin text on the desk above the codex he's writing in. He gazes intently at the book resting on the writing desk while his right hand inscribes the fourteenth-century French words of his translation.[13]

Jeanne de Bourgogne was a bibliophile who instilled her love of books in her son. She organized a program of translations from the works of significant Latin and Greek philosophers and historians, as well as Christian Fathers and theologians. Jean II continued the practice begun by his mother, but it was her grandson, Charles V, who saw practical political advantage in translating great works of the past. By commissioning translations of major Greek and Latin thinkers as well as Fathers of the Church, and by founding the first royal library after his accession, he transformed his grandmother's modest initiative into a politics of knowledge in which authoritative thought and letters became instruments of state governance.

We can see the beginnings of this policy illustrated in the diptych of this frontispiece. In the left panel, over the first column of text, we see a mirror

Figure 3.6. Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* / *Miroir historiale*, tr. Jehan de Vignay for Jeanne de Bourgogne, Queen of France 1328–48. Left panel, St. Louis commissioning Latin work from Vincent de Beauvais in 1251; right panel, Jeanne de Bourgogne commissioning French translation from Jehan de Vignay in 1332–3. Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 5080 réserve, f. 1, detail (Paris, 14th c.).

image of the scene to the right, but with significant differences indicating that the authority for the transaction in the right panel stems from the central figure on the left. That image, doubly distinguished by royal crown and saintly nimbus, shows St. Louis (Louis IX) commissioning the *Speculum historiale* from the Dominican scholar Vincent de Beauvais. Like Queen Jeanne, St. Louis stands with his courtiers behind him, facing the seated monk with the open book on a writing desk in front of him. The words *Deus adiuva me* ("God assist me") cannot be found on the page in this painting, but they are clearly visible in the later fourteenth-century version of the presentation codex at the Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, MS 140).

The success of Vincent's *Speculum* treatises was due at least in part to the powerful connection between the intellectual tradition underlying the teaching and preaching mission of the new Dominican Order, on the one hand, and the political influence of the French monarchy, on the other. There can be no doubt that this resulted in no small measure from the close association of Louis IX (later St. Louis) and Vincent de Beauvais commemorated by the *Speculum historiale* frontispieces. Many of the most important Latin and French codices of Vincent's works were produced for

and owned by the French royal family and other members of the nobility active in French and Burgundian politics in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Figure 3.7, for example, shows a codex produced in 1396 for Louis I d'Orléans, the second son of Charles V, and brother to Charles VI. The scribe was Raoulet d'Orléans, one of the master scribes working for Charles V until his death in 1380, and thereafter for his son, Charles VI.[14] The artist was the famous Paris master Perrin Remiet.[15] Note how Remiet maintains the basic concept of the frontispiece seen in other versions, while considerably modifying the style and details of its rendering. Note also the genealogical continuity between St. Louis, Jeanne de Bourgogne, and Louis d'Orléans. As the great-grandson of Jeanne de Bourgogne, and the namesake of his more distant ancestor, Louis IX, Louis d'Orléans continues the rapport between patron, book, and scribe (Roulet d'Orléans here taking the role of Jehan de Vignay).

The *Speculum* treatises illustrate how a complex manuscript technology – particularly the multimedia *dispositio* or layout – allows composition-by-compilation, by which authors can incorporate exempla from different epochs and sources. Until manuscript technology developed the means of ordering and organizing large quantities of disparate knowledge, this would not have been possible. Prior to that time, when literary and historical works tended to be diffused orally, authors relied on interlaced plot sequences to organize the narrative coherently.

Vincent de Beauvais produced his treatises in the mid-thirteenth century, just at the period when manuscript technology became more sophisticated. Coordinated metadata such as lists of contents, chapter headings, rubrics, decorated and historiated letters separating sections, numbered folios, marginal labels, miniature paintings, glosses, and commentaries, allowed manuscripts to present heterogeneous material intelligibly.

We see this clearly, for example, in Figure 3.8, a page from Raoul de Presles's translation and commentary of Augustine's *De civitate Dei*. In the margin beside the first column, Raoul identifies exemplary material from Isidore of Seville that he incorporates in his commentaries, while in the second column he summarizes the gist of chapter XIV by the rubric: "xiiij. De regreter et retrancher l'amour de loange humaine pour ce que toute la loange des justes est de Dieu" (xiv. On the need to deplore and resist the love of human praise because all praise of the righteous comes from God). Similarly, on other pages, Raoul scrupulously adds marginal labels to distinguish his own (often long) commentaries from the translated words of St. Augustine.

Figure 3.7. Vincent de Beauvais, *Miroir historial*, Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr 313, f. 1r (Paris, 1396). Raoulet d'Orléans and Guillaume de Hervi, scribes, Perrin Remiet, artist. Escutcheon in lower part of folio bears the arms of Louis I, duc d'Orléans, brother of Charles VI, indicating this was his personal copy.

The ability of the manuscript matrix to configure different sign systems led to innovative treatises on specialized subjects, such as music. Manuscripts proved effective for bringing new developments in music and court life into metaphorical congruence. The parchment page offered a practical way to close the gap between the universe of things and the world of signs. If flamboyant Gothic architecture is the pinnacle of fourteenth-century monumental display, its musical and artistic counterpart is the complex multimedia phenomenon known as *Ars nova*. Responsible for some of the most elaborately illuminated manuscripts ever produced, *Ars nova* deployed incredibly complex musical arrangements of part singing to constrain disparate voices and seemingly discordant rhythms in a flowing, soaring harmony.

Treatises of the period recognized the metaphorical congruence between literature and divinely ordained royal authority. On this view, the manuscript tools of instrument, voice, and language transformed the discord of the secular world into a semblance of coherence reflecting divine order

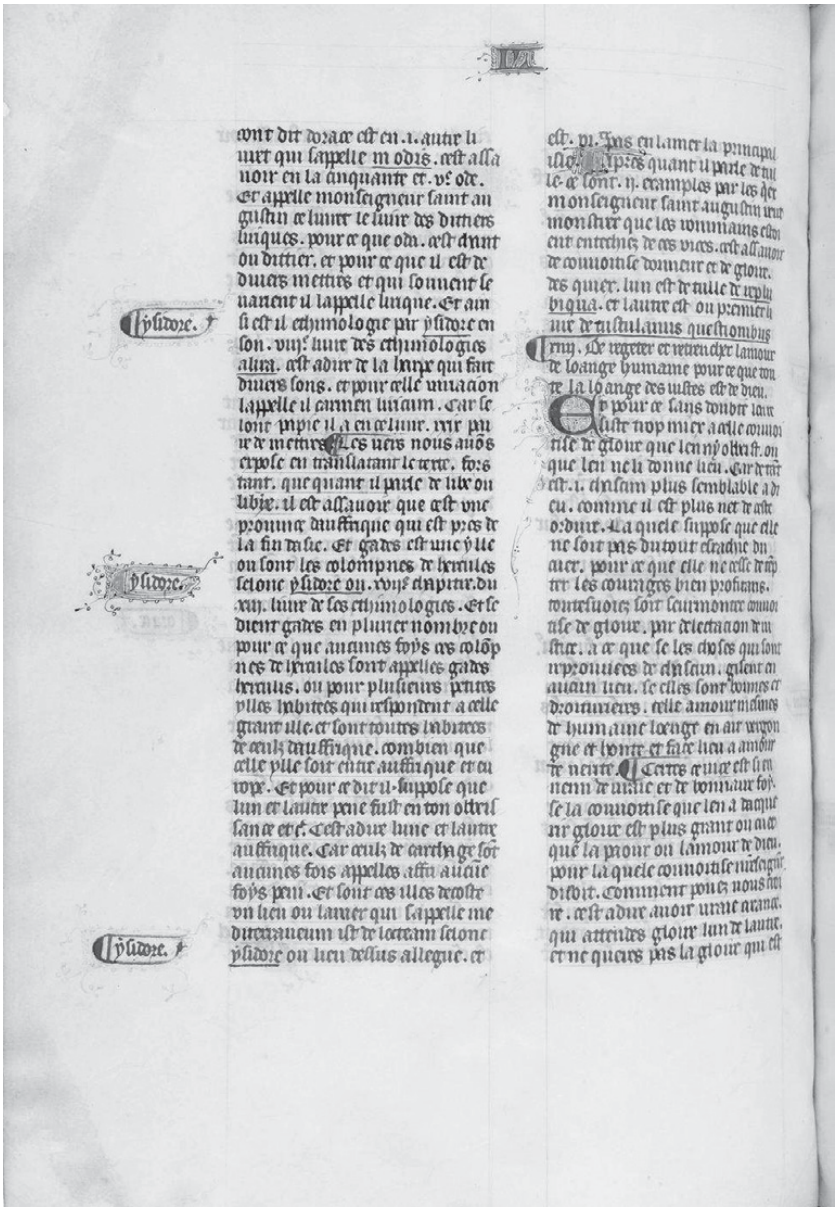


Figure 3.8. Saint Augustine, *La cité de Dieu*, translated by Raoul de Presles for Charles V, 1375–8. Folio shows translator's identification of sources in left-hand column ("Ysidore" [of Seville]), while rubric in column 2 summarizes the chapter to follow. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr 22912, f. 249v (Paris, 1375–8).

and the royal authority intended to maintain it. Christine de Pizan, in her treatise on good governance that takes Charles V as its model, stresses the king's proficiency in literature and music as causal factors for his mastery of statecraft. She tells us that Charles's passion for learning and knowledge led him to amass an impressive collection of important books of all the greatest authors in his magnificent library:

> la belle assemblée des notables livres et belle librairie, qu'il avoit de tous les plus notables volumes, qui par souverains auteurs aient esté compiles, soit de la Sainte Escripture, de theologie, de philosophie et de toutes sciences, moult bien escrips et richement aournés, et tout temps les meilleurs escripvains, que on peust trouver, occupez pour lui en tel ouvrage.[16]

> The impressive collection of important books and beautiful library that he had of the most significant volumes, compiled by incomparable authors, whether it be Holy Scripture, theology, philosophy, or other branches of learning, all finely copied and richly illuminated by the most accomplished scribes engaged by him for this work.

When Christine goes on to praise Charles's musical adeptness, she acknowledges the city's long tradition as the preeminent center for the theory and practice of music by theologians at the University of Paris and by the Notre Dame school of polyphony. She also recognizes the intimate link between music, philosophy, and theology that gave it so central a role in medieval theories of knowledge:

> *Musica* symbolized the underlying structure of disparate things … and was a method of thinking which bound all things together. As Isidore of Seville noted: *Sine musica nulla disciplina potest esse perfecta. Nihil sine illa* ["No discipline is complete without music. Nothing is without music"].[17]

Christine's analogy between musical mastery and good governance directly acknowledges the innovative technology of composition proposed by Philippe de Vitry in a treatise called *Ars nova* written in Paris in 1322.[18] This treatise featured new, complicated notational schemes that pressed the frontiers of the new manuscript technology even further. "The new art was primarily a change in the notation of rhythms, and these principles of measuring note values pervade most of the music of the century … Vitry's treatise describes a new musical practice used by the most advanced Parisian composers."[19] But just as Walter Benjamin's reflections on the Arcades in Paris pointed beyond their architectural aesthetic to their social and political implications, so, in the fourteenth century, *Ars nova* was much more than a simple change in musical style.[20]

*Ars nova* was so popular that it quickly came "to designate the entire musical production in Italy and France between 1320 and 1430."[21] Its sensational success resulted in no small measure from its liberation of complex music from the sacred world to profane venues, and in so doing, it fostered a new kind of manuscript practice. In place of the relatively simple notation of an earlier period, polyphony's complexity needed to be scored on the manuscript page with a careful plotting of the exact relation of words to music. As polyphony became a fixture of court culture, paintings illustrative of the motets, rondeaux, ballades, and other lyric pieces represented were incorporated into fine, sometimes sumptuous manuscripts.

Without denying that dazzling technique opened new vistas of performance, which created a new level of virtuosity for poet-musicians at the Valois court, there's another aspect of this phenomenon that's equally important and interesting. While *Ars Nova* has its polyphonic roots in sacred music, it makes its debut in a secular event that also produced one of the most complex manuscripts of the Middle Ages. This event was both a court performance and a new kind of parchment book known as the *Roman de Fauvel*, a court satire by Gervais du Bus and Chaillou de Pesstain, with music by Philippe de Vitry (and others), first presented in 1314.[22]

As we can see in Figure 3.9, *Fauvel* is a hybrid work that intercalates miniature paintings, prose text, poems, and songs to present an allegorical satire of a donkey clad in regal raiment. The satire is the more cutting in choosing the donkey as the object of courtly envy, since the donkey by its nature parodies the horse (*cheval*), the sign of knightly status (*chevalier* = knight). In this lampoon of sordid competition among courtiers, even the highest-ranking nobles vie for the privilege of currying Fauvel's coat or mane. In fact, the expression "to curry favor" (originally "to curry Favel") originates with this work, giving some idea of its popularity.

*Fauvel* is a precocious index for the role that the high art of courtly composition would play in the fourteenth century. Incredibly complex, technically speaking, the intricate structures of *musica nova* – or of *Fauvel* itself – mimic the rarified life and etiquette of the court. By its vigorous representation of court etiquette as devoid of meaning in the "real world," *Fauvel* shows how remote courtiers were from the outside world. They were *in* Paris but not *of* it, living a life of splendid isolation.

And this brings us to another aspect of manuscript culture. Manuscripts are keen observers – reflectors if you prefer – of their historical moment

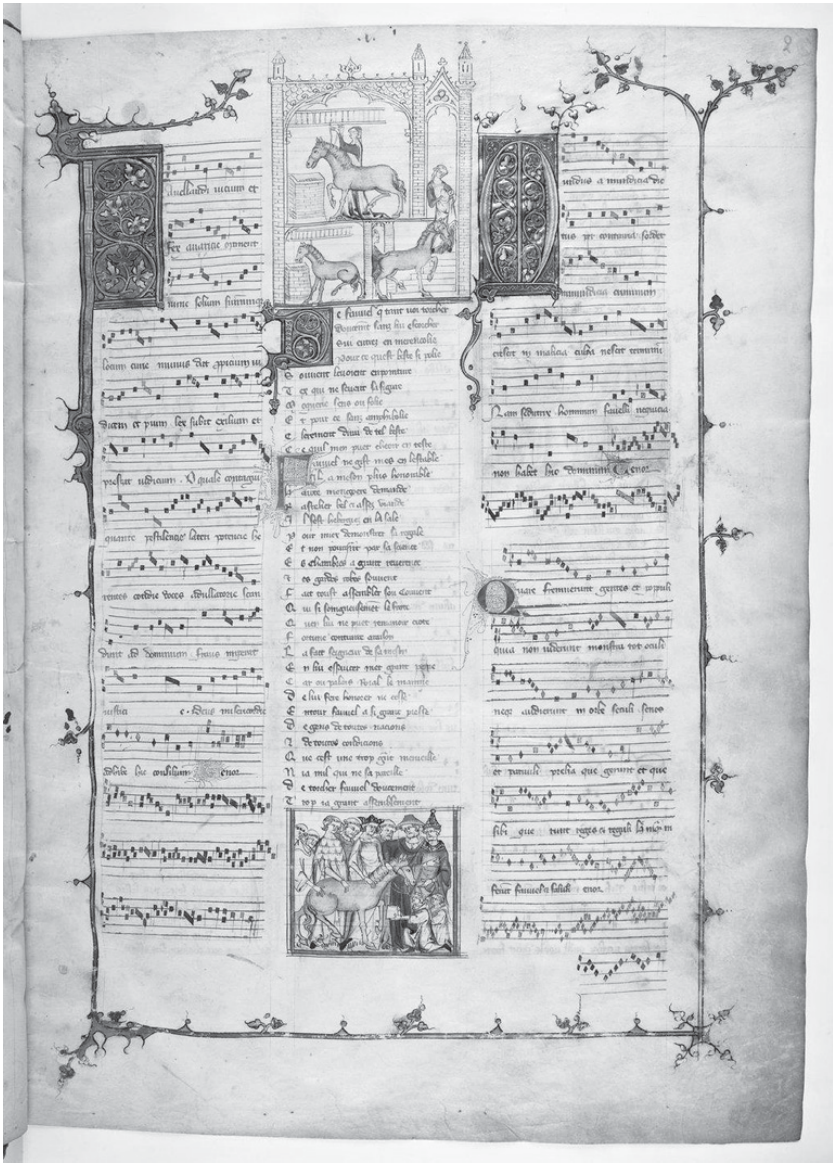


Figure 3.9. Gérard du Bus, Chaillou de Pesstain, and Philippe de Vitry, *Le roman de Fauvel.* Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr 146, f. 1r (Paris, *c.*1314).

and context. If we look at *Fauvel* from this angle, we see what Walter Benjamin perceived in studying nineteenth-century Paris. In any social figuration, observers stand out. They remind us that those best situated to offer insight into a social figuration are those who, like Benjamin, had a fervor for observation, who could see more and above all see differently.[23] In this sense, manuscripts and the artisans who copied, painted, rubricated, and decorated them may be seen as responsive to changes in aesthetics, taste, and representational modes.

If European authors, poets, and scribes of the late Middle Ages manifest intense awareness of one another and engagement with the latest work, this phenomenon, too, may be ascribed to the way manuscripts circulated, that is, by multiple copies of the "same" work side by side with others. In these circumstances, comparison and influence were inevitable. Think, for example, of how many copies – each different from one another to varying degrees – of a given work circulated at any given time. There's the *Roman de la rose*, for instance, which even today numbers over 250 manuscripts dating from the end of the thirteenth to the early sixteenth century. Since so many *Rose* manuscripts were illuminated, often sumptuously – Charles V had five copies in his library at one point – *Rose* scribes and artists were conscious of one another's work and that of their predecessors. But this awareness did not simply mean stylistic variation; it also inspired poets to write new works that could profit from the *Rose*'s popularity – and notoriety. To name but two subsequent poets whose work engages the *Rose*: Guillaume de Deguileville (1295–*c.*1358) explicitly composed his *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* as a response to Jean de Meun's *Rose*, which also inspired spirited responses by Christine de Pizan at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Two characteristics of manuscript technology facilitated and fostered such poetic referentiality and influence: compilation and illumination. The first, composition-by-compilation, fostered new kinds of literary works, particularly allegorical and moral compositions where the loose narrative framework strung together quotation, allusion, and emulation. The allegorical romance – particularly the dream vision – offered the pretext of a *bildungs* narrative where edifying citations or stories from antiquity, theological, or contemporary sources were readily adapted to the ostensible narrative. Since the *Roman de la rose* was the vernacular prototype for allegorical compilation romance, this is yet another instance where the wide circulation of its many copies stimulated creative emulation.

Dynamic imaging made possible by manuscript illumination was the second aspect that motivated specular engagement with contemporary vernacular works. Programs of illumination, although coordinated with and serving as commentaries on the text of a work, were stylistically influenced by contemporary aesthetics independent of literary concern. Since the visual images and layout were immediately apparent – as opposed to the verbal text, which took time to read and measure – their influence on other works is readily apparent. Indeed, visual and graphic aspects of manuscripts offer reliable guides for determining date and place of production.

Interesting as these technical details may be, however, they point to a time when the culture of the codex played a major role in determining content. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, romance compilation and image production encouraged new kinds of hybrid literature that mixed music, art, and lyric thanks to the multimedia potential of the manuscript matrix. So if we learn nothing else from listening to what manuscripts of the period have to tell us, it's the story of a moment when poets, artists, scribes, readers, and all those responsible for producing parchment, ink, and colors, lived and worked in close collaboration with one another and as part of an interdependent court and urban society. Medieval manuscripts convey that story dynamically and in what Hollywood used to call "living color."

## NOTES

1 First rubric: "Comment le Roÿ d'Angleterre fist hommage au Roÿ de France a Amiens de la duchié d'Aquitaine et de la Conté de Pontieu si comme faire devoit." Second rubric: "Ci apres s'ensuit la teneur de la chartre scellee que le Roÿ d'Angeterre donna laquelle contient la maniere de hommage que le Roÿ d'Angleterre fist a Amiens au Roÿ de France des terres dessus nommees." MS BnF fr 2813, fol. 357v. All translations, unless otherwise noted, are mine.

2 "Comment le Roÿ d'Angleterre se mist en mer pour venir en la cité d'Amiens ou le Roÿ d'Angleterre dessus dit devoit faire hommage au Roÿ de France de la duchié d'Aquitaine et de la Conté de Pontieu comme homme du Roÿ de France." MS BnF fr 2813, fol. 357r. For a discussion of Raoulet d'Orleans's interpolations in 2813, see Hedeman, "Valois legitimacy," 103–4.

3 "Et fu ediffiée celle cité [Paris] ou temps de Amasie, roy de Juda, et de Jheroboam, roy d'Israel, VIII$^{c}$ et XXX ans avant l'incarnacion nostre Seigneur." St. Augustin, *Cité de Dieu*, gloss by Raoul de Presles, MS BnF fr 22912, fol. 271a–b. See also Le Roux de Lincy, *Paris et ses historiens*, 99–115.

4 See Brown, *Understanding illuminated manuscripts*.
5 Nichols, "Introduction," passim.
6 See my forthcoming article, "Pour une lecture dynamique."
7 Nichols, "Introduction," 8.
8 *Ibid*., 8–9.
9 Around 1135, Hugh of Saint Victor wrote a treatise for his students on how to read and understand Holy Scripture. The treatise offers guidance for reading manuscripts that remains instructive. See *Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor.*
10 Paris grew from a relatively small city in the early twelfth century to the largest city in the world, after Beijing, by the mid-fourteenth century, with a population of some 300,000 inhabitants (five times the size of London). See my article "Inventing Paris."
11 *Lai* XXXIX, lines 305–12, Villon, *Poésies complètes*, 85.
12 On the "manuscript intentionality" and design of MS 819, see my article "'Art' and 'nature.'" For the interaction of marginal sketches and songs, see my study "Reading and seeing troubadours."
13 The codex is Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 5080 réserve, fol. 1. It's Volume 2 of the presentation copy of the French translation of Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* that Jeanne de Bourgogne commissioned from Jehan de Vignay in 1333 for her son, the future Jean II. Volume 1, bearing Jean's autograph ex-libris (effaced) as Duke of Normandy and Guyenne, is now in the library of Leiden University, MS Voss. GGF3A. The Walters Art Museum in Baltimore owns a later fourteenth-century copy of this codex (Baltimore, Walters Museum, MS 140). In the Walters frontispiece, Jehan de Vignay is shown wearing his robes of the order of the Hospitalers of Saint Jacques de Haut-Pas. That frontispiece is reproduced as fig. 129, catalog entry no. 64, in Randall's *Medieval and Renaissance manuscripts*. A description of the manuscript and miniatures may be found on 165b–173a.
14 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr 313. Vincent de Beauvais, *Miroir historial* [*Speculum historiale*], 4 vols., trans. Jehan de Vignay. *Miroir historial*, vol. II, books IX–XVI. Perrin Remiet, illuminator, Raoulet d'Orléans and Guillaume Hervi, scribes. 392 folios: *incipit*, fol. 1r: "Cy commence le secont volume du Mirouer hystorial, translaté de latin en françois par la main de Jehan de Vignay. Lequel Mirouer frere Vincent de l'ordre des freres preescheurs compila en latin a la requeste monseigneur saint Loys, roy de France." *Explicit*, fol. 392v: "Cy fenist le secont volume du Mirouer hystorial."
15 On Remiet see the excellent book by Camille, *Master of death*.
16 Pizan, *Le livre des fais,* Book III, chapter xii: vol. II, 42 (my translation).
17 Hughes, "Western European music," 8:579a.
18 Sarah Fuller has questioned Philippe de Vitry's authorship of the *Ars nova notandi*. See her "Phantom treatise"; and "Did Philippe de Vitry write?" But see Ferreira, "Compositional calculation."
19 Greene, "Ars nova," 1:548a–b.
20 Benjamin, "Paris, capital of the nineteenth century."

21 Y. Chartier, "Musical treatises," 8:654b. Leo Schrade warns against seeing *all* music of the fourteenth century as *Ars nova*: "Chronology of the *Ars nova*," 38.

22 For a far-reaching, paradigm-shifting analysis of the imbrication of music, text, painting, and manuscript technology in the *Roman de Fauvel,* see Dillon, *Medieval music-making*.

23 Benjamin, "Paris, capital of the nineteenth century," 147.

CHAPTER 4

# *Decoding the material book: cultural residue in medieval manuscripts*

*Erik Kwakkel*

The medieval book was an object designed to be a vehicle for words and much of the effort of producing it was aimed at making these words available to a reader: quill and ink created them, parchment and paper carried them, pricking and ruling of the page gave them direction, navigational aids ensured they were found, and glosses clarified their meaning.[1] Today the words written down by medieval scribes are read, interpreted, and weighed by scholars in a variety of fields, including history, literature, religious studies, and philosophy. While this chapter may be relevant for all scholars who use the manuscript as a source for their studies, it is concerned with different information contained in the codex: data embedded in the physicality of the object itself. The aim is to show that the materials and instruments used to create, carry, guide, locate, and clarify words are a source of information just as much as the words on the page. This chapter argues, in sum, that physical traits can be meaningful too: it shows how to read and interpret the material book.

Medieval book design was principally determined by two parties: the copyist and the individual or individuals for whom a book was copied. Of particular concern to the present discussion are the choices these two parties made with regards to the paleographical and codicological features of the book, and what motivated their choices. As will be discussed, scribes left their personal stamp on the manuscript's design as a result of their training, cultural background, and geographical location. Similarly, the reader affected the design of the book through his or her own cultural background and by the intended use of the manuscript. The mannerisms of the scribe and the preferences of the reader ultimately produced the material book we hold today. The crux of this study is that some of these motivations may be retrieved, decoded as it were, from the features of a manuscript. Its script may indicate, for example, that a scribe was trained to write in the chancery, its appearance that the reader wanted a cheap manuscript, or its size that the book was designed for handheld consultation.[2]

While such contextual information is not always easy to retrieve from the page, especially since the most telling clues are often hidden in the smallest of details, it may add significantly to the research tools available for determining the circumstances under which a manuscript was produced and used. The challenge is that very few medieval books contain explicit data that may be used to this end. Apart from in-text references and the occasional inscription by which the scribe or reader may be reconstructed,[3] the most reliable and insightful source is the scribal colophon, which can potentially supply information about the scribe, the manuscript's year and location of production, and perhaps even the book's patron and purpose.[4] However, not only are colophons often limited to the year of production, they are exceedingly rare and appear in no more than 20 percent of surviving manuscripts.[5] This silence on the part of the manuscript encourages us to look for additional tools to shed light on the motivation behind chosen material features. The first dynamic to be explored is that of the manuscript's production. What can material features potentially reveal about the object's maker?

## READING THE SCRIBE

When a scribe picked up his quill and started to write, he did so with a significant amount of cultural baggage. How he formed a script depended to a large extent on his geographical location (country, region, city), his possible affiliation with an institution (religious house, university, court), the reason why he copied books (to produce personal copies, because it was prescribed by a monastic rule, or because it was his profession), when he was trained, and the circumstances of his training (within an institution, self-trained). The variables of time, space, training, and cultural background all contributed to the way in which the scribe formed each letter on the page, as well as the abbreviations and ligatures. The same variables also influenced how he put the book together physically: what writing support he used, what layout he opted for, and how he pricked and ruled the pages. Such ties between the manuscript's design and the background of the scribe invite us to pose queries related to the circumstances in which the book was produced.

The scribe's handwriting is a good starting point for considering what we may learn about the individual who produced the manuscript. Arguably, the best-known evidence embedded in medieval script is the approximate date of the manuscript's production. To date a scribe's handwriting, one must determine where on the sliding scale of a script's evolution the

individual's execution of that script may be placed. Medieval script was continually evolving, which makes it a useful tool for determining when, roughly, a manuscript was produced. Sometimes the evolution was slow, producing dating criteria of limited use because the shift to an observable new feature unfolded over such a broad period of time. Change could also come at a very high speed, which turns a script feature into a very useful dating criterion. Medieval script becomes particularly revealing when we track its development with the help of dated and localized material, whether manuscripts or charters. Doing so may show, for example, that a certain feature was not in use before a certain moment. A quantitative study of some 350 dated manuscripts in the *Catalogues des manuscrits datés* indicates how between 1100 and 1120 two key features of Gothic script became established in the handwriting of scribes throughout Europe: the feet of minims turned from left to right (in for example **m** and **n**) and round strokes became flattened (such as in **c** and **o**), a feature called "angularity." While around 1100 relatively few scribes included these features in their script (15 percent), two decades later the majority of scribes did so (75 percent).[6]

It is helpful when observable shifts in scribal mannerisms can be used to date a manuscript to the first or second half of the century, or better yet when they narrow down the date to a quarter century, since these time segments are often used for dating manuscripts. An example of such a useful criterion is the manner in which the **pp** combination was written in twelfth-century pregothic script. Most scribes wrote these two letters separately until *c.*1150, at which time they began to join them together in a process called "fusion" or "biting."[7] Consequently, if a manuscript written in twelfth-century pregothic script contains **pp** that is consistently fused, it is likely to have been produced in the second half of the century. Another phenomenon is the emergence of one-compartment **a** in cursive script used by scribes in the Low Countries, replacing two-compartment **a**. The first cases of a one-compartment **a** occur *c.*1350, producing a terminus post quem for its use.[8] As technical as these observations may be, they have value for the present discussion, demonstrating how medieval script can be a useful tool for finding contextual evidence. By writing one paleographical variant or another – fusing **pp** or not, writing **a** in one or two compartments – scribes reveal an approximate date range for their handwriting. Their choices embedded or "encoded" the manuscript's date of production in a set of features we can observe today. By learning to decipher such "hidden" information we may better understand important aspects of the book's production.

The handwriting of the medieval scribe invites us to pose another important query: where was the individual trained? Here, too, the shape of letters can be used as a tool for localization. While around 1120, 75 percent of scribes produced the minims and the round strokes in the "new fashion" (see above), the remaining 25 percent of scribes, who did not make this change, can nearly all be attributed to a single geographical space: the Germanic countries (i.e., the modern regions of Austria, Belgium, Germany, Holland, and Switzerland).[9] Scribes from this geographical space also share other features, such as the shape of the letter **e**, which sported a square flag at the end of its tongue stroke. A sample of 100 dated and localized manuscripts produced between 1075 and 1150, as presented in the *Catalogues des manuscrits datés*, suggests that this feature is almost exclusively encountered in the work of Germanic scribes.[10] Similarly, letter shapes, abbreviations, and ligatures may also reveal whether a scribe learned to write in England (because he wrote an "overhanging" **a**, the head stroke of which starts to the left side of the lower compartment), Italy (through the inclusion of the 7 shape for the "bus" abbreviation), or Spain (because of the "fa" ligature or 3-shaped **z**).[11] Sometimes it is even possible to deduce in what part of the country a scribe was trained. For example, scribes in southern France gave the 7-shaped Tironian note for Latin "et" a very recognizable shape – they often made the top stroke notably long and straight, and they placed it much farther to the left of the vertical stroke than scribes from other regions. They also preferred to give a flat top to their **a**.[12]

Sometimes scribes give away their geographical location even more precisely. Some individual religious houses, especially in the early Middle Ages, developed their very own style of writing, a phenomenon sometimes referred to as "house style." While these highly localized mannerisms included codicological features, such as the preparation of parchment, the style of the quire signatures, and custom-tailored correction symbols, they more frequently affected the formation of script.[13] In the first half of the twelfth century, individuals in the Benedictine houses of St. Andrews in Rochester and Christ Church, Canterbury wrote in a subtype of pregothic script that Neil Ker dubbed "prickly script" because of its forked ascenders, pronounced serifs, and sharp angles of normally round strokes.[14] Scribes who entered these houses became trained in the local style of writing. Curiously, continental scribes entering Rochester in the wake of the Conquest (individuals from Normandy, but also from Germany, Italy, and the Low Countries) would leave their native script at the door and start writing prickly script flawlessly, showing that individuals could acquire a

new manner of writing – and a new mannerism for us to decode.[15] Scribal mannerisms may also point to a particular monastic order. Well known in this respect are manuscripts made in Cistercian houses, which exhibit a striking similarity in their accentuation and punctuation.[16]

So far we have seen how monastic book producers exhibit mannerisms peculiar to the time when a manuscript was produced, the geographical location of the scribe, as well as his background (namely his affiliation with a certain monastic order). While many of the examples provided thus far have focused on monastic scribes, these dating and localizing methods can also be applied to books produced in a commercial setting: these "encoded" material features were also embedded in the handwriting of scribes outside monastic walls, for example those affiliated with chanceries and those operating as hired hands in the world of commercial book production. As with monks, some of these individuals included milieu-specific traits in their script, allowing us to consider the context of their work. When clerks employed by the municipal government copied books in their own time, for example on commission for a patron, they would sometimes carry over features from their daytime profession. When in 1358 a clerk in Brussels copied the manuscript that is now the oldest paper codex written in the Middle Dutch vernacular (Bruges, Sint-Janshospitaal, no shelfmark), a copy of Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden legend*, he included monetary abbreviations customarily used in account books. One such feature is the long **s** with a cross stroke for the Middle Dutch *schelling* (shilling), an abbreviation that is hardly encountered outside an administrative context. Another is a curly abbreviation that was attached to a letter in order to shorten the remaining part of a word, a practice that was particularly common in account books.[17] By using such typical administrative traits in a literary manuscript, the scribe of the *Golden legend* reveals his training as a professional scribe in the chancery of the city.

The material construction or codicology of the book also provides details about the scribe. To remain for a moment with the individual who copied the *Golden legend*, the way in which he put together the manuscript's quires also connects him to the chancery. A quantitative study shows that the majority of quires in fourteenth-century paper manuscripts contain five or six bifolia (approximately 80 percent of the total number of manuscripts produced).[18] By contrast, the largest quires in the *Golden legend* manuscript are thirty-six and forty-eight leaves (eighteen and twenty-four bifolia, respectively). These high numbers suggest that the scribe was familiar with administrative practices, where thick quires

were frequently used for account books and other manuscripts of a documentary nature, especially draft texts. This is reflected, for example, by an account book of the Montepulciano loan bank from 1409–10, containing fifty-eight leaves (twenty-nine bifolia); two Chamberlain's accounts from the city of York from 1446–53, with seventy-three and 139 folia, respectively; and the accounts spanning the years 1358–61 from the Duke of Bavaria's court in The Hague, written in a single quire of 258 paper leaves (129 bifolia).[19] Chancery scribes may have favored thick quires because they reduced the production time of manuscripts.

As we have seen in the study of script, the physical make-up of a manuscript (or its codicological features) can also reveal an approximate date of production. For example, during the Carolingian age, scribes ruled the page with a sharp object, which left horizontal furrows on the surface of the parchment that guided the pen as it formed words. By the middle of the twelfth century, however, such blind or hard-point ruling had been replaced by lines drawn with lead.[20] An even more precise codicological dating clue is the placement of the first line on the page. Until *c.*1240 scribes in Europe tended to write on the first ruled line, a practice referred to as writing "above topline." After that approximate date most scribes appear to have preferred to place the first line of text on the *second* ruled line (writing "below topline").[21] Apart from being useful for dating manuscripts, these two features reflect the broader discussion in this chapter: when we observe a page and determine with what tool it was ruled and where the first line was placed, we decipher contextual information related to the manuscript's production.

## READING THE READER

While the scribe produced a manuscript, the choices leading to its ultimate design were not solely his own. They were also influenced by the individual for whom the book was made. That the reader could exercise such influence is a result of the close relationship that existed between that person and the scribe. Here lies a striking (and for this essay crucial) difference between the medieval manuscript and its printed cousin: the former was commonly produced by an individual who knew the identity of the object's future reader. (That is to say, the scribe was generally familiar with the *first* reader, because many medieval books had a long and prosperous life on the secondhand market, where it was common to find books that were a century old.)[22] Produced in batches of several hundreds, printed books were made for the speculative market, a domain inhabited

by anonymous readers. The printer had to guess, to the best of his abilities as a businessman, who the potential buyers of a given edition would be, how much they would be willing to pay for the book, and what material format would appeal most to them. In the age of the manuscript, by contrast, speculative book production was exceptional and limited to the fifteenth century, when, for example, it flourished in continental cities with ties to the English book market, such as Bruges.[23]

Generally speaking, a medieval producer of books knew precisely who would open the pages of the finished manuscript for the first time: in most cases it would have been either his fellow monks (if the scribe was a member of a religious house), the patron visiting the artisan's workshop (if the scribe was paid to produce a book), or the copyist himself (if the book was made for personal use).[24] This closeness of scribe and future user, both in physical proximity and in their working relationship, significantly affected the manuscript's design. While the scribe naturally infused certain mannerisms into the book he produced (as discussed), if he copied the object for someone other than himself, the other party may have communicated to him what material features he would prefer to have included. In no other scheme of book production is the influence of the reader more apparent than in commercially produced manuscripts – a common mode of book production from the early thirteenth century onwards. Because money was transferred from the reader's pocket to the scribe's "till," it was in the interest of both parties to discuss what codicological and paleographical features would be given to the manuscript. It was in the scribe's interest to obtain such detailed information from the client because he needed to make decisions for every step in the book's production process, and each decision he made affected the look, cost, and functionality of the manuscript. The client wanted to be involved in the decision process because it was he or she who would pick up the tab and use the book.

We may therefore assume that a conversation took place between both parties, which covered such things as writing support material (parchment, paper), dimensions, page layout details (number of columns and lines), and script (type and grade of execution).[25] While some patrons may have voiced specific preferences, perhaps choosing an accustomed script (discussed below), others may have harbored more generic wishes. A patron could, for example, tell the scribe to economize on as many aspects as possible, thus providing a guideline that affected several stages of book production, as well as the general appearance of the codex. To keep track of the features and their cost, written agreements – contracts – were drafted, setting the terms of production and payment.[26] The negotiations between

artisan or artisans and reader are also reflected by two other pieces of evidence: itemized bills, which clients documented in their completed manuscripts (so much for the quires, so much for illumination, so much for binding, etc.), and temporary accounts of the different costs written in plummet on flyleaves by the artisan.[27] The book trade facilitated such negotiations with a jargon that was available to both parties. Professional scribes put large advertisement sheets on display outside their doors to show what kind of scripts they offered. The writing samples they presented were often accompanied by the names of the scripts, giving clients access to the professional terminology, which encouraged clarity in both conversation and contract.[28]

It is because the recipient of the manuscript had an opportunity to voice his preferences to the scribe that we may attempt to "read the reader" and uncover the motivations that hide behind the material features of a manuscript, within both a commercial context and in other schemes of book production. The reader's involvement in the design process implies that every observable trait is potentially meaningful and that every feature invites us to think about why it was included. A particularly telling feature, in this respect, is the writing support material chosen for a manuscript. The spectrum of choice was particularly broad for this stage of book production. Various grades of parchment were available, which had different price tags attached to them; a reader could indicate to the scribe that paper was to be used, which came at a much lower material cost.[29] Consequently, at a time when both paper and parchment were available in book production (on the Continent from the early fourteenth century onwards, in England likely much later) it is telling that a reader opted for a certain material, because it may say something about how affluent he or she was.

The possibility of reconstructing readers' motivations is also demonstrated by the use of recycled parchment waste in book production, which was the very cheapest material available.[30] After the rectangular sheets were cut out of the skin, a thin and uneven outer rim remained. The smaller pieces were usually boiled down for glue. The larger pieces, however, could be used as a cheap material to write on. These "offcuts" were often used for notes and letters, but from time to time they also formed the basis for manuscripts (Figure 4.1).[31] Such specimens may be recognized from some peculiarities of their pages, which may show discoloration (a stained surface with a yellow haze), a strange shape (rather than a perfect rectangle, the page may contain elongated gaps), translucent patches (fat deposits in the skin), and their small dimensions (due to the limited size

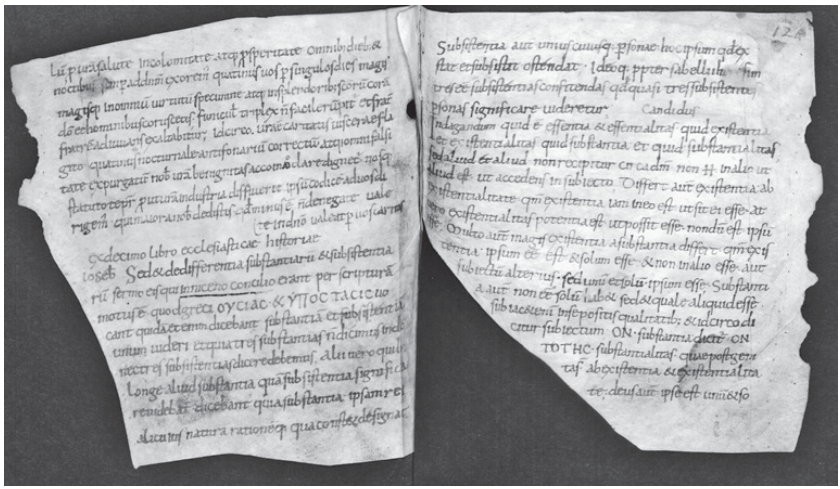


Figure 4.1. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLO MS 92, fols. 123v–4r (early 11th century): volume produced from offcuts.

of offcuts).[32] This example of an offcut manuscript shows how observable features of the page – shape, color, and surface structure – may suggest that the person who owned the object tried to limit costs as much as possible. Interestingly, the motivation to economize often affected multiple stages of book production. Manuscripts made from offcuts, for example, are often written in a lower-grade script and tend to lack decoration. Moreover, the earliest paper manuscripts are all written in a cursive script, which was faster to write than a bookhand and will thus have helped to economize – that is, if the book in question was made on a commercial basis.[33]

The chosen writing support of a manuscript may also provide other information about the reader, for example about his or her cultural or professional background. Early paper manuscripts, from the first decades of the fourteenth century, show a strong affiliation with a university milieu.[34] There was no need to make a textbook more expensive than necessary, which meant that paper was an obvious choice, even at a time when paper was not yet common in book production. Other early adopters of paper as a material for books were individuals who handled the paper professionally, such as notaries, in part when they produced manuscripts for themselves.[35] By contrast, members of religious houses appear to have been slow to adopt paper as a writing support, evidenced by the fact that

most books produced in monastic environments continued to be made of parchment.[36] Such milieu-specific practices – in this case determined by how quickly a social group adopted a new writing support – help to identify the cultural context of the manuscript's reader. Paper codices from the first half of the fourteenth century, for example, were unlikely to have been made in a monastic context.

Another physical feature that reflects the preferences of certain groups of readers is script. Paul Saenger has pointed out that aristocratic readers at the courts of France in the fourteenth century had difficulties with the traditional book script.[37] It may have been difficult for some readers to recognize letters of this style of script because of the identical minim strokes they contained: **n** and **i** written next to each other looked like **m**, while two **i**'s may appear to be a **u**. Those readers interested in literary manuscripts (and who were perhaps not interested in spending time deciphering difficult script) often favored a style of writing with which they were more familiar. Their books were thus copied in a higher-grade cursive script, which resembled the script of vernacular charters, objects with which the nobles had first-hand experience. Similarly, Malcolm Parkes suggested that some manuscripts written in England in both the French and English vernacular were copied in cursive script because their users, middle-class readers and businessmen, were used to this script, having used it professionally.[38]

While the reader had a significant impact on the design of commercial and personal books, his influence seems to have been less of a factor in monastic book production. In the most common scenario, an in-house scribe will have produced books for the communal library and the design of these books was, to a considerable extent, fixed. This was, in part, due to the rules observed by monks, which sometimes included instructions in how to form certain elements of the book, such as script, abbreviations, and decoration. The writing practices of Cistercian monks, already discussed, illuminate how monastic regulations potentially shaped the manuscript's design, determining what abbreviations were used and how initial letters were decorated. Similarly, the Brothers of the Common Life had very specific rules related to abbreviations and letter shapes, which were written down in a treatise that was likely meant to reform scribal practice.[39] The design of a monastic manuscript could also be fixed in that the traditions that evolved in individual scriptoria determined, to a certain extent, what a book would look like. As demonstrated by the examples of house style discussed earlier, monastic scribes were more prone to execute certain aspects of book production habitually than their counterparts in

the commercial world. The more that was controlled by established scriptorium practices and monastic regulations, the tighter the hands of the scribe were bound, and the less influence the monastic reader had on the manuscript's ultimate design.

An exception to this rule may be special monastic book projects. From time to time religious houses in the higher Middle Ages produced magnificent books, for example to commemorate their founder. These copies looked more lavish and were usually copied with more care than regular manuscripts produced in-house. One such example is the so-called Gundulf Bible (San Marino, Huntington Library, MS 62), a twin set made in the Benedictine house of Rochester during the last quarter of the eleventh century in honor of their founding abbot, Gundulf of Bec (d. 1108), according to a thirteenth-century notation in volume two: "Prima pars biblie per bone memorie Gundulfum Roffensem Episcopum" (fol. 1r).[40] The scribe who set out to copy the book produced a sizeable object (its page dimensions are 400 × 260 mm) with rubrics written in display script. Given the importance of the book to the community, it is likely that the scribe had received instructions regarding the design of the Bible, perhaps from the abbot. The same may be assumed in cases where abbots initiated the production of manuscripts to secure their own legacy. Around the middle of the fourteenth century the dean of St. Trond Abbey, John of Myrle (d. 1355), had a batch of manuscripts made, each showcasing very similar dimensions, layout, and decoration, which indicates that John of Myrle had likely given detailed instructions to the scribe.[41]

## DETERMINING THE MANUSCRIPT'S USE

The two dynamics highlighted so far as decisive forces behind the ultimate design of a medieval manuscript are: 1) Mannerisms related to the scribe and his cultural milieu or affiliation, and 2) the cultural or financially inspired motivations of the reader. Through the choices made by these two parties, contextual evidence became embedded (encoded, if you will) in the manuscript's design. The evidence fused itself to the page and manifests itself in script and quire, like a kind of "cultural residue" that we can identify and use as reflections of the conditions under which the book was made and used. A third dynamic must now be added. The suggestion that the reader often voiced his or her preferences with respect to a book's design implies that the object also potentially contains clues about how it was used after completion. In a commercial setting the scribe likely understood what motivated the purchase of the book from his negotiations with

the client. The artisan may even have provided suggestions as to how a manuscript could meet the reader's requirements. We may infer that the monastic scribe also knew what purpose the sheets in front of him would ultimately serve. This would have been made clear when the codex was produced in consultation with the individual who had initiated its production, the abbot or scriptorium master, because in that case the scribe likely received explicit instructions. However, even a more "generic" book made for communal use, whether for the main library or another repository, was likely shaped in a way that was fitting for its future purpose. After all, the scribe's knowledge of a book's future function, either as an object used for the monastic school or for the liturgy, affected the manuscript materially. It therefore seems very likely that a monastic scribe also embarked on a book project with sufficient knowledge about how the object would ultimately be used.

Distilling cultural residue that reflects the book's usage presents yet another opportunity to make sense of the manuscript. The degree to which the manuscript's future use affected its material features can be illustrated with an unusual category of book, those with a tall, narrow appearance, sometimes referred to as "holsterbooks."[42] Quantitative studies show that medieval manuscripts have a relative width between 0.67 and 0.72 (the height being 1.0), which produced roughly the same page size as our modern book.[43] In contrast, holsterbooks may have a relative width of as little as 0.3. In such cases the book is three times as high as it is wide, which produces a most remarkable physical object. The narrow or tall character of holsterbooks not only jumps out at someone who frequently consults manuscripts today, but medieval readers also judged them to look out of sorts. Responses to the unusual shape of these books can be found scribbled on flyleaves ("this book is not wide enough") or mentioned in a chronicle ("our narrow Gospel Book").[44] Scribes producing the objects, however, had good reason to break with the medieval norm of page design. The narrow format guided the pressure of the book's weight away from fingers and thumb toward the palm of the hand, which made it easier to hold the object in one hand for an extended period of time. For this reason the holster format was a sensible choice for books used by soloists in the Mass. All surviving Tropers made before 1200, for example, are in holster format, as are nearly all Cantatoria from this age.[45]

The format may also have been favored by teachers in the monastic classroom of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as some teaching scenes in decorated initials and miniatures demonstrate, including the famous scene of St. Hugh in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 409

(1190s).[46] Though not all masters used this format, a random sample of eighty holsterbooks from the eleventh and twelfth centuries shows that teaching texts are their most common contents: over 50 percent of holsterbooks are filled with such works, in particular prose and verse texts of classical authors (Horace, Statius, and Ovid being the top three).[47] Moreover, the few manuscripts that have been identified as actual teaching copies are all in holster format.[48] Like the soloists of the Mass, teachers in the classroom may also have favored a book that was designed to be held in one hand, which would allow them to move through the room while having the other hand available for gesturing or correcting pupils.

Such use was further facilitated by two other characteristics of holsterbooks containing teaching texts: many of them remained unbound and consisted of only a few quires, which reduced their weight and made them particularly suitable for handheld consultation. London, British Library, Harley MS 3859 is a collection of eight thin booklets that form the *Opera omnia* of Horace, which measure approximately 205 × 115 mm (relative width 0.56).[49] Both the shape of the page and the limited thickness of the individual parts facilitate the likely rationale behind the design of the booklets: handheld use. Similarly, this motivation may also explain the design behind other tall and narrow book types, such as the prompt-books used in theatres during the Tudor age, many of which were produced in holster format. Here, too, the user benefited from being able to consult the book while being free to move around the stage.[50]

These observations show how a scribe carefully planned the dimensions of the page based on how the object was going to be used: to provide a better balance, he limited its width. Indeed, functionality was deemed such an important factor in the holsterbook's manufacture that scribes were willing to break with the medieval norm of book production and produce something they knew looked "off." Interestingly, as we saw with the attempts to economize on the production of a manuscript, the anticipated use of the holsterbook affected several stages of book production. Thus when scribes chose to use narrow pages, they often also tried to limit the number of quires they used. This was accomplished by writing in a very small style of script and by copying the teaching texts in a composite book, so that the instructor would need to hold only the segment relevant for a particular class.[51] In other words, the use of the manuscript as a teaching book is embedded in two codicological traits (page size and quire construction) as well as a paleographical one (size of script). Such a broader impact on multiple stages of book production is also observed in manuscripts made for other types of use. The portable Bible that mendicant

friars carried with them on the road not only has very small dimensions, but it is also written in a minute script (to fit a large number of lines on the page) and made from the thinnest parchment available (to reduce the manuscript's volume).[52] The three material choices combined facilitated the object's portability.

The holsterbook shows how evidence embedded in the dimensions of the page helps to place a surviving manuscript in a particular setting of use, namely one where it was necessary to hold a book in one's hand. Page dimensions thus underscore the main argument of this chapter, that book design may relate manuscripts to their milieu of production, readers, and manner of use. Through their physical features handwritten books transmit information, which may be just as telling as a scribal colophon. While distilling cultural residue from the manuscript increases our understanding of medieval book culture, its impact reaches beyond the discipline of manuscript studies alone. Manuscripts are vehicles of texts and the hidden material clues discussed in this chapter also provide contextual information related to medieval literature. Material features may assist in placing a certain text in a Cistercian library or in the hands of a reader with little money; they may show that a given translation was particularly popular in France or in the first half of the twelfth century; or they may indicate that a work was copied by a clerk or used in the classroom. The existence of cultural residue not only emphasizes the strong ties between the medieval manuscript and the society that produced it, but it also points out a stimulating research dynamic: one that complements studies related to the presence of the book in medieval society with investigations of how that society may be present in the book.

## NOTES

1 The main thread of this chapter, how the physical features of medieval manuscripts are meaningful, was first explored in a short essay titled "The cultural dynamics of medieval manuscripts." I wish to thank the members of my research project Turning Over a New Leaf as well as Ed van der Vlist (Royal Library, The Hague) for their input.

2 All three examples are discussed below.

3 See for example Turville-Petre, "Some medieval English manuscripts" (in-text references identify patrons); Tracy, "British Library MS Harley 630" (in-text references identify monastic houses of origin); Stubbs, "Clare Priory" (marginal references identify patrons).

4 I am referring here to colophons uniquely placed in a single manuscript by its scribe, not those copied from an exemplar.

5 Overgaauw, "Where are the colophons?"
6 Both shifts are assessed in Kwakkel, "Biting, kissing and feet."
7 *Ibid.*, 97–9. This study is based on 367 dated manuscripts written between 1075 and 1224.
8 Kwakkel, "Digital eye." This study is based on 424 dated charters written between 1300 and 1399.
9 Kwakkel, "Biting, kissing and feet," 91 and 102.
10 For the sample, see *ibid.* appendix 3, nos. 1–100.
11 All examples are from Gothic textualis. Dozens of country-specific features are mentioned in Derolez, *Palaeography of books*, examples at p. 110 ("bus"), pp. 113–14 ("fa"), and p. 115 (**z**).
12 *Ibid.*, 116–17.
13 Ganz, "Book production in the Carolingian empire," 790–1 and R. McKitterick, "Carolingian book production"; reprinted in R. McKitterick, *Books, scribes and learning*, ch. 12 (house style); Mercati, "Codici del convento," 85–6 (quire signature); Kwakkel, "Meadow without flowers," 200–1 (correction symbol).
14 For the script, see Ker, *English manuscripts*, 26–8 and Webber, "Script and manuscript production."
15 This case is presented in Kwakkel, "Hidden in plain sight."
16 N. F. Palmer, "Simul canternus, simul pausernus" (punctuation); and Parkes, *Pause and effect*, 38–40 (accentuation and punctuation).
17 For these abbreviations, see Kwakkel, "New type of book," 226–7.
18 Busonero, "La fascicolazione del manoscritto," 94, table 14.
19 Kwakkel, "New type of book," 228 n. 28, 238 pl. 3 (quire size of 1358 codex), and 237–8 (examples).
20 See Derolez, *Palaeography of books*, 35, who states that this shift occurs "in the course of the twelfth century." My own research based on dated manuscripts shows that the earliest examples of lead ruling are from *c.*1100, while the last cases of blind ruling date from the 1140s. The manuscripts used for this assessment are listed in Kwakkel, "Biting, kissing and feet," 114–25.
21 For the shift to writing below top line, see Ker, "From 'above top line'" and Palma, "Modifiche di alcuni aspetti materiali." For quire size, see Busonero, "La fascicolazione del manoscritto," 88 table 1.
22 For secondhand books, see Christianson, "Rise of London's book-trade," 132–3; and Parkes, "Provision of books," 418–19 (Oxford). A century-old book is mentioned in Christianson, *Directory of London stationers*, 82.
23 K. Harris, "Patrons, buyers and owners," 181, states that some 200 fifteenth-century manuscript witnesses of this trade survive. On manuscripts made speculatively ("production-line" books) in Flanders for the English market, see Duffy, *Marking the hours*, 83. Scott, "Late fifteenth-century group," discusses a likely case of speculative production in England.
24 Note that the workshop of a paid scribe, while being a separate physical space, was often located in his house (there is no evidence for urban scriptoria, as it were). It is unclear where books were made that came out of an ad hoc production method, whereby a manuscript was produced by a "moonlighting"

individual whose primary source of income came from writing undertaken for the municipal government (clerks, for example). For ad hoc production, see Mooney, "Vernacular literary manuscripts."

25 Kwakkel, "Commercial organization," and Hanna, *Introducing English book history*, 166.

26 See for example the case discussed in Croenen, Rouse, and Rouse, "Pierre de Liffol" (contract at p. 267).

27 For itemized bills, see Kwakkel, "Commercial organization," 175–6. For temporary accounts written in lead, see Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their makers*, vol. 1, 30–1 and 251–2; vol. II pls. 17 and 35.

28 For advertising sheets, see Wehmer, "Die Schreibmeisterblätter," and Derolez, *Palaeography of books*, 17–20. Van Dijk, "Advertisement sheet," discusses a specimen with twelve script types.

29 Gullick, "From parchmenter to scribe," 151 (parchment grades and their cost); Lyall, "Materials: the paper revolution," 12–13 (paper).

30 Kwakkel, "Discarded parchment."

31 *Ibid.*, 246–56, providing several examples.

32 *Ibid.*, 240–1.

33 Kwakkel, "New type of book," 243 n. 83.

34 *Ibid.*, 224.

35 Petrucci, *Writers and readers in Italy*, 157 and 178–9.

36 For the slower adoption of paper by monks, see Lyall, "Materials: the paper revolution," 13, and Thompson, "Paper manufacturing," 172.

37 This case is discussed in Saenger, *Space between words*, 270.

38 Parkes, "Literacy of the laity," 285.

39 Pluta, "Quaedam regulae de modo" (reform at p. 248).

40 Quotation and manuscript description at "HM 62 'Gundulf Bible'": http://sunsite3.berkeley.edu/hehweb/HM62.html.

41 Cardon, "Het mecenaat."

42 Robinson, "Format of books," 54. A full study devoted to this type of book is Kwakkel, "Dit boek." An English version will be included in the monograph I am writing with Francis Newton (Duke University) on a medical holsterbook from Monte Cassino.

43 Bozzolo and Ornato, *Pour une histoire du livre*, 287–310; Gumbert, "Sizes of manuscripts," 279 and table 1 at p. 278.

44 The first remark is from Hector of Moerdrecht (d. 1465), monk in the Utrecht Charterhouse. He placed the note in Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS $^{B}102^{4}$ and MS $^{B}159^{2}$, measuring 0.64 and 0.63, respectively. The second remark is from Ekkehard of Sankt Gallen (d. *c.*1060) and regards St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 53, with a relative width of 0.58. For these cases, see Kwakkel, "Dit boek," 37 and 38–9, respectively.

45 For Cantatoria in holster format, see Huglo, "Cantatorium" (esp. tables 3.1a and 3.2 at pp. 96 and 99); for Tropers, see 97 table 3.1b. Amalarius of Metz (d. 780) notes that the cantor holds the book in his hands: see Palazzo, *History of liturgical books*, 54.

46 See "Bodley 30" at: http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet. The iconographical evidence will be part of the monograph I am currently writing (n. 42).
47 Kwakkel, "Dit boek," 40.
48 In this format are, for example, the key manuscripts discussed in S. Reynolds, *Medieval reading*, which were used by teachers: cf. 108–9 (British Library, Harley MS 3524), 110–13 (Cambridge, Peterhouse College, MS 229) and 113–16 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 8216). For further examples, see Kwakkel, "Dit boek," 41.
49 Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs latins*, vol. 1, 215 (division and analysis of booklet iii); vol. 11, 500 (booklet vi) and 832 (booklet viii).
50 For prompt-books, see Greg, *Dramatic documents*, vol. 1, 204–5. There are also cases where it is less obvious why a manuscript was made tall and narrow, for example the English, French, and Latin manuscripts and miscellanies discussed in Taylor, "Myth of the minstrel manuscript," 58–9 – though handheld consultation may be a possible rationale here, too.
51 Kwakkel, "Dit boek," 44.
52 De Hamel, *The book*, 114–39 (portable Bibles and their features); Derolez, *Palaeography of books*, 100 (script).

CHAPTER 5

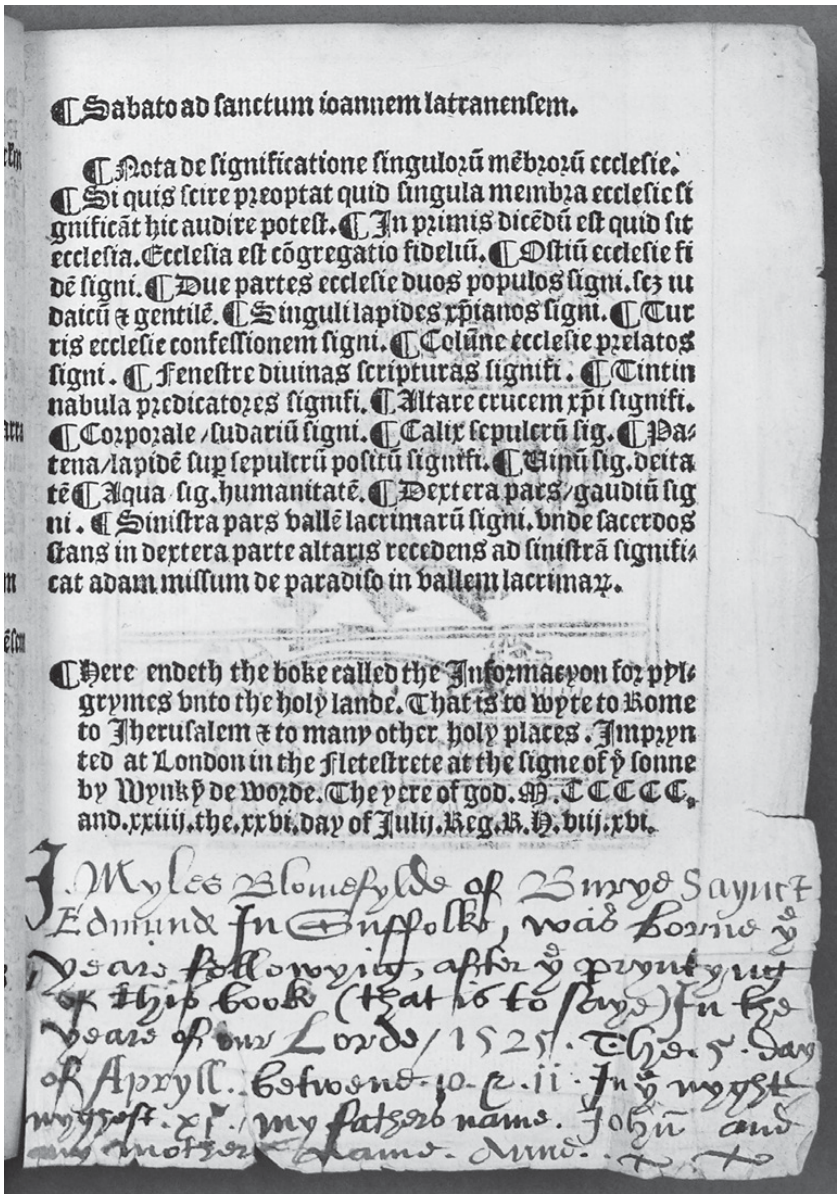
# *Organizing manuscript and print: from* compilatio *to compilation*

*Jeffrey Todd Knight*

Figure 5.1 shows the colophon from Wynkyn de Worde's 1524 *Informacyon for pylgrymes vnto the holy londe*, a popular early printed guidebook based in part on William Wey's medieval *Itineraries*.[1] The text of the colophon signals that "Here endeth the boke" and gives the customary date, place, and details of production, a feature of book making held over from scribal practices despite its growing redundancy in a new era of printed title pages. Beneath this imprint in the particular copy pictured, an Elizabethan book owner has written in what we might call his own details of production: "I Myles Blomefylde of Burye Saynct Edmunde in Suffolk, was borne y^e^ yeare following, after y^e^ pryntyng of this booke (that is to saye) In the yeare of our Lorde, 1525. The .5. day of Apryll. betwene 10 & 11 In y^e^ nyght."[2]

It may not be clear from the photo that Blomefylde's personal "colophon" is rubricated – that is, embellished in red ink – another feature commonly associated with earlier manuscript making. This mix of script and print elements is mirrored in the larger volume: the near-contemporary binding is a *Sammelband*, or "collective binding," containing two other printed books, the medieval story book *Gesta Romanorum* (1517) and a *Historie of Italie* (1549), both of which are marked and rubricated. In a table listing the election dates of the popes in the *Historie*, for example, Blomefylde has added "M. B. borne 1525" in the space between Clement VII (1523) and Paul III (1535). Also bound with the printed material is a neat, rubricated manuscript of sixteen pages, in which Blomefylde provides his own set of religio-historical lists: "the Wardes with all the paryssh Churches" and "all the Cathedrall churches … Within the Cytie of London."[3]

I offer the Blomefylde compilation as a model for thinking through the complex entanglement of print and manuscript – but particularly the medieval manuscript – in the reading and writing cultures of late premodern England. The colophon and margins of the texts find Blomefylde



¶ Sabato ad sanctum ioannem latranensem.

¶ Nota de significatione singulorũ mẽbrorũ ecclesie. ¶ Si quis scire preoptat quid singula membra ecclesie significãt hic audire potest. ¶ In primis dicẽdũ est quid sit ecclesia. Ecclesia est cõgregatio fideliũ. ¶ Ostiũ ecclesie fidẽ signi. ¶ Due partes ecclesie duos populos signi. scz iudaicũ ⁊ gentilẽ. ¶ Singuli lapides xp̄ianos signi. ¶ Turris ecclesie confessionem signi. ¶ Colũne ecclesie prelatos signi. ¶ Fenestre diuinas scripturas signifi. ¶ Tintinnabula predicatores signifi. ¶ Altare crucem xp̄i signifi. ¶ Corporale / sudariũ signi. ¶ Calix sepulcrũ sig. ¶ Patena / lapidẽ sup sepulcrũ positũ signifi. ¶ Vinũ sig. deitatẽ ¶ Aqua sig. humanitatẽ. ¶ Dextera pars / gaudiũ signi. ¶ Sinistra pars vallẽ lacrimarũ signi. vnde sacerdos stans in dextera parte altaris recedens ad sinistrã significat adam missum de paradiso in vallem lacrimaꝝ.

¶ Here endeth the boke called the Informacyon for pylgrymes vnto the holy lande. That is to wyte to Rome to Iherusalem ⁊ to many other holy places. Imprynted at London in the Fletestrete at the signe of ye sonne by Wynkyn de Worde. The yere of god. M. CCCCC. and. xxiiij. the. xxvi. day of Julij. Reg. R. H. viij. xvi.

Figure 5.1 Wynkyn de Worde's 1524 *Informacyon for pylgrymes vnto the holy londe*. Cambridge, St. John's College A.2.18(1), sig. C8r.

calibrating his life to the rhythms of a relatively new printed book world, as one would do with family Bibles and almanacs, while at the same time drawing on a distinctive formal idiom of the bygone era of illuminated manuscripts. The assemblage of material, whether Blomefylde's or that of a later Renaissance-era book owner,[4] recalls a space of indistinction between scribal and printed, personal and published, medieval and modern in the storehouse of English writing. As an artifact it resists some of the most objective-seeming routines of knowledge organization in libraries: the assignment of classification numbers (one or four?) and subject headings ("Palestine–Travel" or "Italy–History" along with "Blomefylde, Miles, 1525–74"?), and above all the administration of resources in separate departments, "rare books" and "manuscripts."

It is not my intention in this chapter to revisit the now-canonical problem of transition from manuscript to print – whether the emergence of the hand press in Europe effected a "revolution" in Elizabeth Eisenstein's longstanding formulation, or was itself the effect of "manifold representations, practices, and conflicts," as in Adrian Johns' revisionism.[5] These discussions remain important in historiography and technology studies, but for scholars of culture, attuned as we are in the current moment to a "distrust … of sequence" or "the lure of a paradigm,"[6] it has been clear that the socialized model of gradual, contested change is generative. Indeed, books like the Blomefylde compilation testify to the more recent revisionist consensus that print and other new media are, in Lisa Gitelman's words, "less points of epistemic rupture than they are socially embedded sites for the ongoing negotiation of meaning."[7] More than that, such books serve as evidence that these sites have additive rather than supersessive temporalities – that old and new necessarily translate each other and occupy the same space (in this case, the space of a page, a booklet, a binding). As Robert Fraser has argued in the context of a postcolonial history of the book, the "evolutionary paradigm of development between separable 'stages' [is no] longer acceptable. Instead we are faced with a multivalent process that spirals off in several different directions, and in which many different combinations of orality, literacy, and print culture are both possible and recorded as matters of fact."[8]

These combinations, whether understood as modes in conflict or in equilibrium, are now the implied starting points for scholars using "manuscript" or "print culture" in heuristic approaches to the materiality of texts in and around Blomefylde's time.[9] Book history, partly as a result, has been dislodged from its long, near-exclusive association with print[10] and is, in theory at least, freer to range across the manuscript divide. But

the implications of this revisionism for the study of reading and writing have been drawn out only preliminarily and along deeply entrenched lines of literary-historical periodization. Where medievalists such as Alexandra Gillespie and Seth Lerer have argued for a print culture that "blurs the historical boundaries between manuscripts and early printed books," their fine analyses of that culture have stopped at the early Caxtonian editions of Chaucer and other writers from the Middle English manuscript tradition.[11] Conversely, among early modernists interested in the materiality of texts, Lerer's important call for "a conception of the printed volume and the printed page that is, perhaps, self-consciously linked to the experience of the medieval page"[12] has not been taken up. The most resonant work on the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century overlap between manuscript and print culture remains that of Harold Love and Wendy Wall, whose foundational studies of "scribal publication" and "manuscript impersonation" appeared over two decades ago.[13] As Love's term "scribal publication" suggests, the long-held tendency among early modernists has been to conceive of manuscript *in terms of* print, subordinating the period-specific complexities of the former to the more familiar, fixed categories of a homogenized print-modernity. Of Peter Stallybrass's recent argument that print, far from tolling the knell for manuscript circulation, was actually a "great means … of eliciting writing by hand," Gillespie rightly observes that "'print' is still the beginning of this way of thinking about books – the context that makes manuscript circulation interesting."[14]

In this chapter, I ask what happens when this formula is reversed – when manuscript becomes the context for a new interest in print, the beginning of a way of thinking about books both for readers in Blomefylde's era and for scholars in ours. I address this question first by suggesting that we shift the heuristic ground from production to organization – from scribal practice or print publishing to the library catalogues, shelf lists, bindings, and intra-textual object relationships through which written material came to be accessed and known. These frameworks, I argue, are interrelated; they echo one another at the different scales of text, book, class or category, and library. But more importantly, they are *shared* between the culture of manuscript and that of early print. Modes of organizing writing that persist from the former to the latter, I will demonstrate, offer crucial support for the critique of periodization mounted recently by James Simpson, Jennifer Summit, David Wallace, and others working across the medieval–Renaissance dividing line.[15] As Wallace observes of the disciplinary space opened up by this critique, "most of the running has been made by medievalists reading forwards rather than by Renaissance scholars

reading back."[16] In the second half of this essay, I draw on histories of text management that tell us why this asymmetry continues to guide research. With Christopher Marlowe's long poem *Hero and Leander* (1598) as a case study, I read backwards from early modern compilations to medieval notions of *compilatio*, showing one way that knowledge frameworks from the manuscript world of the Middle Ages informed Renaissance print culture, and how those frameworks were quietly erased in the modern library.

## REPRESENTING MANUSCRIPT AND PRINT

Writing on the earliest European bibliographers such as Conrad Gesner, "who mingled manuscript and print" in his work, David McKitterick notes that "In most libraries, the two media were not systematically separated for several generations."[17] Examples of fluidity between now-separate categories of text – and separate areas of expertise – can be found in many surviving sixteenth-century catalogues and book lists.[18] The Rental of the Earls of Kildare in Ireland, now at the British Library, for example, contains a 1531 checklist from a collection organized by language alone: the entries "enaydos," for Caxton's Virgil, and "The sheperdis calender" (fol. 97v), for de Worde's almanac, appear alongside a manuscript of *Statutes of the Order of the Garter*; a manuscript book of hours listed as "Psalterium deauratum in pergameno" (a gilded Psalter on parchment) (fol. 96v) appears alongside printed editions of Thomas More and Terence.[19]

Perhaps the most famous English library catalogue from the sixteenth century, the Parker Register at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, reflects a similar though elaborated classification scheme, with manuscript and print made visible by the recording of incipits or imprints respectively.[20] Where the items listed "in maiore Bibliotheca" (1) are large-format printed books organized into subjects beginning with theology, the ones "in minore Bibliotheca" (41), which make up the majority of titles, are mixed. In some categories, such as "Bookes in parchment closures as the[y] lye on heapes" (68), printed books mingle with manuscripts. In others, such as the books "Standinge on the shelues within the lockers" (83), print appears to be an implied organizing category, and modern librarians have correspondingly amended the titles in typescript copies of the register to "[Printed] Books standing on the shelves within the lockers."[21] Yet even when the category of printed books is implied, the contents of individual bindings can be mixed, mirroring the mixed organization of the *Bibliotheca*. In the class amended as "Printed books on the shelf top," for example, we find shelf mark SP 105, a *Sammelband* containing

two printed books – Paolo Giovio's *De legatione Basilii magni principis Moschoviae* (1527) and William Lily's *Antibossicon* (1521) – bound with a fifteenth-century manuscript on vellum of Thomas Hoccleve's *Regiment of princes*.[22] A similar example, under "[Printed] Books standing on the shelves," is shelf mark SP 184, a *Sammelband* containing the *Revelationes* (1516) of Pseudo-Methodius, James Whytstons's *De iusticia et sanctitate belli* (1512), Petrarch's *De vita solitaria* (1505), and a manuscript book of poems attributed to Walter Map.[23]

The Renaissance-era keepers of the Parker collection, including Archbishop Parker himself, were among the earliest rare book and manuscript librarians, and possibly the earliest self-described antiquaries, in England.[24] The task of taking in materials from the dissolution of monastic libraries had fallen to them by royal order, and they famously responded with an intricate system for preserving the books,[25] which include some of the most important English literary texts extant. It is useful, then, to compare what was in essence an official framework for organizing and representing written artifacts in the Elizabethan era with the official bibliographic frameworks of today, devised for much the same purpose. In today's libraries, manuscripts are collated as integral units but catalogued according to sub-units – texts – within the larger manuscript book on the assumption that "most manuscripts contain multiple texts on diverse subjects, with more than one work copied or bound into a single volume."[26] Printed books, conversely, are submitted to prescriptive routines; they are collated against an "ideal copy" and catalogued on the assumption that they will "contain only one work or a collection of works dealing with a single theme."[27] Where sophisticated catalogue codes can be created to register copy-specific information about printed books, the sorting and display protocols of the most widespread online catalogue utilities – from university libraries to the British Library – collapse difference into sameness. On the surface, a book like Blomefylde's *Informacyon for pylgrymes* appears as a discrete entity, indistinguishable from a modern edition.

But a fundamental difference between early books and modern editions, as the Blomefylde volume so richly illustrates, is that early books did not have prescribed formats or states. Of course, the sequence of leaves in any work of prose or drama, and in most works of poetry, is determined by the nature of the reading act. But in the early period of print, before publishers assumed sole authority over how books would be bound and packaged for reading, a given *work* could become a *book* (or part of a book) in a range of configurations, not just one.[28] As Joseph Dane writes of the prevalence of reader- and retailer-formed *Sammelbände*, "at least in the

earliest period, all but the largest books were routinely bound with other books in single volumes."[29] Printed works, like the individual items in the Blomefylde *Sammelband*, could be written in, repurposed, or contextualized by booksellers and book owners. I have written elsewhere about specific cases: a reader forming this or that topical anthology, or a writer adding pages of his own manuscript verse to the end of a printed book of poetry, binding it all together under a new title.[30] But sixteenth-century culture also abounds with *general* models for a conception of the book as a contingent, non-uniform entity. Bibles, the most prominent printed books, were spaces for recording events such as births and deaths, and were commonly bound with bibliographically autonomous books of psalms; likewise, psalms, biblical commentaries, and service books – books with great ritual usefulness – were bound with a variety of texts and could be put to use in family or self-accounting.[31] School books, among the first books other than the Bible that many readers would encounter in life, were readily interleaved with blank pages for annotations and exercises, as were translations, which could serve as resources in language learning.[32] Popular printed texts such as emblem books and especially almanacs, as Adam Smyth has argued, were often expanded to accommodate what we now call life writing.[33]

Structurally, then, and in some of the most prominent cultural sites, early printed books were closer to manuscript books than they are to modern editions – closer to the medieval codices that Ralph Hanna calls "fluid, developing entities," "frequently neither planned nor executed as (or from) whole volumes,"[34] than to today's trade books, whose uniformity and self-identity are established in regimes of publishing, classification, and cataloguing. Sheer chronology should tell us as much. The early print era begins in the late Middle Ages and stretches, by most accounts, into the seventeenth century, whereas full-scale integrated book production only arrives with technologies of cloth edition binding in the 1820s, and was not universally adopted by publishers, at least in London, until the later part of that century.[35] Early printed book culture, however we define it, is therefore many generations removed from the conception of the book that came to be institutionalized in modern libraries, but it is contiguous and indeed overlapping with the culture of the medieval manuscript. Why, then, do early modernists interested in the materiality of print look so far forward instead of so immediately back, or to the complex medievalism of their own moment?[36]

Part of the answer lies in the knowledge systems that have been constructed and reinforced around print and manuscript. I do not restrict this

argument to the history of books. Catalogues and other bibliographical tools are points of entry to research in any literary field. A medievalist working with the *Piers Plowman* A-, B-, or C-text or Chaucer's *Canterbury tales* quickly learns to associate manuscript books with "fluid entities," with clusters of movable parts and works that were "infrequently transmitted shorn of a context."[37] The assembly of books in composites and collections, miscellanies and anthologies, proves fundamental not only to the circulation of medieval texts but to form and imagination in medieval writing.[38] Early modernists, whose experience of canonical primary works is mediated by the *Short-title catalogue* or information based on it, are more liable to organize their thinking about texts around the categories of modern publishing.[39] This is true of printed texts, which are assigned discrete numerical identifiers in a system of differences among "editions," but also of manuscript texts, which are simultaneously excluded from, and imperfectly translated into, the *dispositio* of print. If a non-specialist researcher in early modern literature were asked to imagine a manuscript, one of two things would most likely come to mind: a commonplace book, notebooks for gathered sayings that would be useful in rhetoric and memory (such as Hamlet's famous "tables"), or a "literary manuscript," the capacious category for texts of high-cultural significance articulated in the essential indices of Peter Beal.[40] The first of these things, we note, is a discrete book-entity most often tied to writerly interiority; the second is organized and indexed by author, each item abstracted from its codicological context. Neither offers a manuscript framework on its own historical terms.

If the fluid entities and context-bound works of the medieval codex do not seem to later-period critics to make the transition from manuscript to print culture, a still more important factor may lie in the conservatorial practices of institutional book collecting. The disbinding of composite volumes and the supplementation of imperfect works to form perfect wholes are aspects of book history that we are only beginning to understand,[41] but they underscore the real interpretative effects that cataloguing and classification can have in the field of literary primary materials. With the first book auctions in the late seventeenth century, English collectors presumably had the first real market incentive to organize valuable books one-title-to-a-binding, a single bound text fetching more money than two or more bound together. Pressures toward disaggregation perhaps multiplied with the increasingly refined catalogues of the early period of library building, the Enlightenment rage for classification, or the use of authors and spine-titles as paratextual markers (we await research that

will tell us for sure). The ensuing culture of connoisseurship in collecting was a prelude to the institutional library reforms and universal classification systems of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which witnessed a near-systematic rebinding of early printed works. Where a Caxtonian work in this period might be dismembered and dispatched to various collectors' "leaf books,"[42] the most valuable early modern works – Shakespearean quartos, for example, commonly bound in early *Sammelbände* – were separated out into leather, single-text bindings. The impression given, again, is that of a continuous, homogeneous print modernity – Shakespeare as our contemporary in the thought-economies of the book. Medieval works in book form today, except in the most uncritical of editions, have to answer for their own material contexts, but a canonical early modern work only rarely invites the question.

## FROM COMPILATION TO *COMPILATIO*

In 1867, Charles Edmonds, an agent for the bookseller Willis and Sotheran in London, was called to Lamport Hall in Northamptonshire to examine the contents of its library. There, in a back room "covered with dust and exposed to the depredations of mice, which had already digested the contents of some of the books," he found "a little collection of volumes … the very sight of which would be enough to warm the heart of the most cold-blooded bibliomaniac."[43] Edmonds's discovery would be publicized in the antiquarian community as "an extraordinary collection of rare English books, chiefly of belles lettres," which "had been laid aside and forgotten for probably not less than two centuries."[44] In an 1880 catalogue of the library produced for advertisement, Edmonds lays stress on the books' pristineness, noting "the charming state of Preservation in which they have come down to us, they being (with few exceptions) as fresh and clean as when first issued from the Press nearly Three Centuries ago."[45]

Among the unusually well-preserved books was a copy of Christopher Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* (1598), the bestselling epyllion modeled on a late classical work by Musaeus. *Hero and Leander* has long been considered "Marlowe's greatest achievement as a poet," an "expression of the Ovidian world view in English," and a demonstration of Marlowe's skill as the era's preeminent "erotic classicist."[46] The poem relates in lush detail the mythological tragedy of young lovers separated by the Hellespont: Leander falls in love with Hero at first sight and the two conspire to be together, but Hero has promised chastity to Venus. The scene is set for an unhappy

conclusion, which never arrives because the work is a fragment, "another thing about it that is classical," according to Stephen Orgel.[47] The poem is quintessentially Marlovian in its allusiveness to the classics, its frank dealings in blasphemy and the tragedy of ambition, and in the aura of danger that no doubt contributed to its popularity.

The copy found at Lamport Hall, however, is a different *Hero and Leander*. The book, still in its early limp parchment binding at the British Library, is a *Sammelband* containing Marlowe's classical-tragic poem along with two chivalric verse romances, *The Fisher-mans tale* and its sequel, *Flora's fortune*, both written by the Lichfield schoolmaster Francis Sabie, and printed in 1595.[48] These two non-Marlovian works comprise a paraphrase of Robert Greene's popular romance *Pandosto*, known to scholars as the source of Shakespeare's *Winter's tale* and a "generic mix" of pastoral, English euphuism, and the sixteenth-century "Patient Grissel" story whose lineage in English stretches back to Chaucer's *Clerk's tale*.[49] Like *Pandosto*, Sabie's romance is light and episodic. It centers on the "chiualrie and valiant feates"[50] of Cassander, a prince disguised as a fisherman (named Florizel in Shakespeare), and Flora, a lowly shepherdess who turns out to be a princess (Perdita in Shakespeare). Cassander, home from war, falls in love with Flora at first sight; Flora returns his affections and they plan to steal away together, but their love is forbidden by her jealous father, Thirstis, who ultimately breaks apart their union. After a long exile and many turns of plot, Flora and Cassander are reunited, their true identities are revealed, and in the happiest of happy endings, "each one contented was, / And longe tyme liu'd, and dy'd in endlesse blisse."[51]

The thematic connections between this story and *Hero and Leander* are clear: youth, love at first sight, prohibition from a parent figure, loss. The long progress toward redemption, a generic requirement of romance, is what finally separates Sabie's work from Marlowe's epyllion. But here it must be remembered that at least one of Marlowe's contemporaries saw in *Hero and Leander* the same thematic-generic coordinates that the early owner of the Lamport Hall *Sammelband* seems to have seen. In 1598, there appeared a *Second part of Hero and Leander, conteyning their further fortunes*, by Henry Petowe, a young London poet. Petowe picks up where Marlowe left off, but rather than driving the lovers to tragedy, he "describes chivalric adventures leaving many corpses, [and] a happy ending for the hero and heroine."[52] Modern readers have disparaged Petowe's continuation as "an attempt to retell the old story in terms of a medieval romance," substituting for Marlowe's erotic tension and classical

sensibilities "a tournament, a knight in disguise, a cruel duke, happy wedding bells, and a final metamorphosis into pine trees."[53]

Would early readers have balked at this medievalism mixed in with their Renaissance literature? Probably not. As today's scholars of either period will reflexively observe, medieval and Renaissance are the imposed categories of a later age. But what slips by unobserved are the ways in which those categories still organize literary objects and the perceptions of those who consult them, training readers in a Burckhardtian chronology even where its terms are being disavowed. Figure 5.2 shows the Lamport Hall *Hero and Leander* as it survives in a *Sammelband* along with a copy, also in an early binding, of *The fables of Aesop … with other minor works* (1549), the standard edition in which the Greek text of Musaeus' *Hero and Leander* circulated when Marlowe produced his translation.[54] Both of these are compiled volumes, "multiple texts on diverse subjects"; the latter contains, in addition to Aesop's fables, "two mock epics, the Hippocratic Oath, and a collection of maxims."[55] William Weaver notes that "at first sight, the edition appears to be a hopelessly disparate collection, a freakish accident of the young printing industry. What has Musaeus, highly regarded by many humanists as an Orphic poet, to do with Aesop?"[56] Yet the same incredulous comparison would no doubt accompany a modern critic's attempt to make sense of Marlowe's Renaissance mini-epic and Sabie's chivalric romance in *Sammelband* on the basis of genre or conceptions of text in currency today. Where the compilation of *Hero and Leander* with other works appears to have been natural according to an earlier era's system of literary organization and value, it is unthinkable according to ours. Figure 5.3 shows the other Renaissance copies of Marlowe's version of the poem at the British Library. Every one was individually rebound in modernity, resembling a fine leather hardcover.

The history of this particular text's management, then, reflects a determined modernization – which is to say a de-medievalization – effected at the level of ontology. As with other canonical Renaissance works, only the largest of which could stand in single-text bindings in the period, the custodians of historical collections knowingly or unknowingly distilled *Hero and Leander* from any context that could be called miscellaneous, fluid, or compilatory. The result is a product of modern print culture that can be given over to prescriptive cataloguing (and ultimately to editing, digitization, and study) but which in its earliest instantiation was organized in ways more continuous with the unprescribed book-entities of premodern manuscript culture, sometimes in bound volumes that actually contained medieval literary material. What would it mean to read Marlowe's

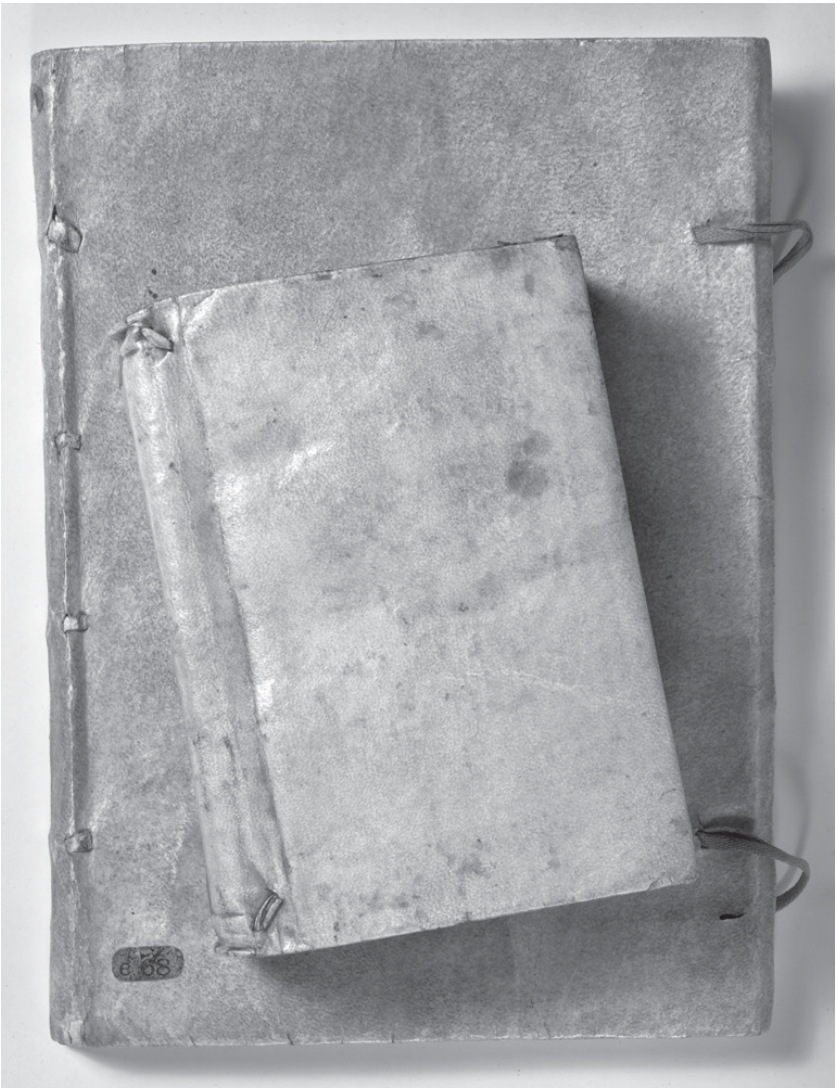


Figure 5.2 London, British Library C.40.e.68 (top) and C.125.aaa.8 (bottom), *Sammelband* and story collection.

poem medievally – not as a modern *book*, but as a premodern *work*, an always-potential sub-unit, and a compilation for compilations?

I do not have the space here to do justice to this question, but it is one that could be asked of many if not most canonical Renaissance texts,

Figure 5.3. London, British Library C.57.i.43, C.57.i.44, C.57.i.45, and C.71.b.32; four rebound copies of Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* (1606–37).

compelling real scrutiny of literary periodization and the functional (if no longer theoretical) autonomy of print and manuscript culture. A starting point would be to open up this canon of writing to the genealogy of compilation as a literary-organizational practice going back to medieval manuscript *compilatio*, which gave authors such as Chaucer "not only … source material" but "a literary role and a literary form," in Alastair Minnis's

seminal formulation.[57] In the vernacular, the use of the term "compile" and its variants to name the act of literary production runs from Chaucer's *Canterbury tales* through sixteenth-century works by John Skelton, John Bale, and Edmund Spenser to seventeenth-century, New World productions such as Anne Bradstreet's *Several poems compiled with great variety of wit and learning* (1678).[58] Marlowe himself uses the term for the anguished writings of Hero's suitors, who are unsuccessful at winning her attention at the feast of Adonis: "There might you see one sigh, another rage, / And some (their violent passions to assuage) / Compile sharp satires, but alas too late, / For faithful love will never turn to hate" (i.125–8).[59]

To read Marlowe's poem genealogically in this sense would be to reassess the boundaries of the text, to perceive in the famous closing inscription "Desunt nonnulla" [some things are missing] (ii.337) not the telos of the complete book but the blank space in the manuscript source that this inscription conjures for the reader, and an enticement for writers such as Petowe to fill it in.[60] To read the poem in this way would be to look closely at how the outer organizational frame of compilation is reflected or called upon in the inner formal properties of the verse, much in the same way that the modern printed book is implicated in novelistic form or the digital interface is implicated in experimental poetry in the twenty-first century. For example, though *Hero and Leander* is traditionally praised for the richness of its descriptions, a reading of the text that proceeds from the relationality of compilation rather than the unity of the book would note Marlowe's intermingling of description with narrative asides and moral lessons – bits of discourse that give the poem the texture of an exempla collection. The story of Cupid "strooken blind" (i.38) by Hero's face, imagining that Hero "was his mother" (i.40), interrupts the opening catalogue of the protagonist's beauty. When Hero and Leander's eyes meet at the feast of Adonis, the poem breaks off into a seemingly detachable, ten-line moral aside on free will: "It lies not in our power to love or hate, / For will in us is overruled by fate" (i.167–8). At the moment of Hero and Leander's first embrace, Marlowe interjects a long, muddled tale of Mercury wooing a shepherd girl and stealing from Jove's cupbearer to impress her. (The sestiad's headnote, included by George Chapman, underscores the disunity of the piece, calling the Mercury story a "tale the author doth imply" [0.6], from *inplicare*, "to fold in" or "entangle.") At the poem's other dramatic climax, lustful Neptune takes possession of Leander thinking he is Ganymede, and in the heat of Leander's struggle, the god stops to smile "and then told a tale, / How that a shepherd, sitting in a vale, / Played with a boy so fair and kind" (ii.194–6). Leander is unable to listen to the

pastoral digression; he breaks in to call out for Hero his love, drawing Neptune's wrath and sustaining the clash between the diachronic-moral and synchronic-descriptive modes through to the end of Marlowe's fragment poem, which can only be resolved through the work of other writers.

The Lamport Hall *Hero and Leander* and its rebound duplicate copies at the British Library offer a neat encapsulation of my argument in this chapter: that literature printed in early book form in English, though outwardly and often inwardly closer to what we call medieval manuscript culture, is available to us in the most canonical instances in artificially modernized book-copies, which orient our readings forward, to the "early modern" (or "early now"), rather than backward, to the premodern networks and knowledge systems out of which that literature arose. Those networks and knowledge systems are under-explored and sometimes invisible to researchers. I began this chapter with the Blomefylde *Sammelband* and other examples of "hybrid books," or printed books with actual manuscript material in them. But I ended with a literary text from early print culture that, when read in a compilatory frame, can evoke a mode of textual organization usually associated with the premodern, with manuscripts – no "hybridity" that one could identify in a catalogue or a database, but an imaginative web of adjacencies that reaches from the material structure of the book *in potentia* down to the rhetorical structure of narration in the poem itself.

Evidence such as this is liminal. It cannot be accessed through empirical methods alone, for as one prominent scholar has recently put it, "the archive can't be trusted to know itself";[61] it selects against what does not reinforce its own categories. Close reading, on the other hand, knows itself and its object too well; freed from the determinations of access and preservation it cannot see knowledge organization in creative production, the *library* (and all it can tell us) in the *work*. Yet through what might be called critical provenance research on one hand and interpretation on the other, a Renaissance poem such as Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* becomes, much like its medieval predecessors, multiple, relational, and even fluid. How many other familiar literary works lead secret lives in Blomefylde-like compilations, hidden away in the dusty, mouse-ridden back rooms of historical libraries?

## NOTES

1 STC 14083. St. John's College Cambridge shelf mark A.2.18(1). This was the third edition to appear in print in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

2 Sig. C8r. On Blomefylde as a book owner, see Baker and Murphy, "Books of Myles Blomefylde." I include a brief account of Blomefylde in my *Bound to read*, 1–3.

3 Fols. 1r and 4v, respectively.

4 According to the copy-specific catalog note, the binding is "near-contemporary," but it is unclear whether the arrangement originates in Blomefylde or a later sixteenth- or seventeenth-century owner. The book was part of a 1710 bequest and passed through two known owners in the seventeenth century. The pages are cropped, suggesting at least one post-Blomefylde rebinding.

5 Eisenstein, *Printing press*, vol. 1, 3; and Johns, *Nature of the book*, 20.

6 The two quotes are from otherwise divergent takes on the state of the field: Price, "Introduction: reading matter," 15, and Fraser, *Book history*, 10, respectively.

7 Gitelman, *Always already new*, 6. Earlier theorizations of media change in this vein include Jenkins's idea of "convergence" (*Convergence culture*) and Bolter and Grusin's idea of "remediation" (*Remediation: understanding new media*).

8 Fraser, *Book history*, 22.

9 Exemplary studies rooted in large part in the sixteenth century include Brayman Hackel, *Reading material in England*; A. Gillespie, *Print culture*; and Sherman, *Used books*. For an overview of the discussion, see Marotti and Bristol, *Print, manuscript, and performance*. Dane deconstructs the notion of print culture in several of his recent books, most compellingly in *Out of sorts*.

10 Book history, that is, as practiced and theorized by early modernists, who have arguably set the agenda in the field until recently. See, for example, Darnton's statement that book history "might even be called the social and cultural history of communication by print" in his foundational essay, "What is the history of books?," 65. For an important analysis and rebuttal of this association, see A. Gillespie, "History of the book." Brantley also addresses it in her recent "Prehistory of the book."

11 Lerer, "Medieval English literature," 1260. See A. Gillespie, "Caxton's Chaucer and Lydgate quartos" and "Poets, printers, and *Sammelbände*." Gillespie's *Print culture* pushes somewhat further to the sixteenth-century editions of Chaucer and Lydgate that follow Caxton's. See also Lerer, "Medieval literature and early modern readers."

12 Lerer, "Medieval English literature," 1260.

13 Love, *Scribal publication* and Wall, *Imprint of gender*. Several key studies of early modern manuscript culture followed soon after, most notably Marotti, *Manuscript, print, and lyric* and Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney.*

14 Stallybrass, "Little jobs," 341, and A. Gillespie, "History of the book," 265, respectively. Stallybrass's contention that "printing precedes manuscript" originated in a series of talks and his 2006 A. S. W. Rosenbach lectures, "Printing for manuscript."

15 Simpson, *Reform and cultural revolution*; Summit, *Memory's library*; Wallace, *Premodern places*. See also Cooper, *Shakespeare and the medieval world*. For

overviews of the discussion, see Cummings and Simpson, *Cultural reformations*; Summit and Wallace, *Medieval/Renaissance: after periodization*; and McMullan and Matthews, *Reading the medieval*.

16 Wallace, "Afterword," 220.

17 D. McKitterick, "Libraries and the organisation of knowledge," 610.

18 For a survey listing of catalogues, including the two examples I give below, see Jayne, *Library catalogues*.

19 London, British Library, Harley MS 3756, fols. 96–7. It is likely but not certain that the almanac is de Worde's. See Byrne, "Earls of Kildare," for a transcription of the inventory along with possible identifications.

20 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 575. For an overview of the Parker Library and Parker Register, see Page, *Matthew Parker and his books*. See also the recent accounts of active use of the library in Knight, *Bound to read*, 40–51 and Summit, *Memory's library*, ch. 3. I quote from the register below using the modern pagination.

21 Here and below I quote from the contents list of a transcription of Parker Register with annotations and identifications by R. I. Page and W. Hale (uncatalogued, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge). Brackets in original.

22 The original title of the class reads "Vpon the shelfes top" (Parker Register, 97). The entry for the *Sammelband* in the register clearly indicates the presence of the manuscript with the other two items with the notation, "} 1 vol" (99). The current class marks are SP 105 (1), SP 105 (2), and MS 496, respectively.

23 Current shelf marks SP 184 (1), SP 184 (2), SP 184 (3), and MS 498, respectively.

24 See London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 959, a copy of Parker's *De antiquitate Britannicae ecclesiae* where an inscription in the hand of John Parker (1548–1618), Matthew's son, reads "This Historie was collected & penned by John Joscelyn … by y$^{e}$ appointment & ov[er]sight of Matthwe Parker Archb: of Cant. y$^{e}$ said John being int[er]tained in y$^{e}$ said ArchB: howse as one of his Antiquaries" (unsigned title page). On the Parker Circle as librarians, see Summit, *Memory's library*, ch. 3.

25 On the Parker Register's tripartite indenture devised to maintain the collection, see Page, *Matthew Parker and his books*. For a general account of the Parker Library's relationship to the spoils of the English Reformation, see Graham, "Matthew Parker and his manuscripts."

26 Van Egmond, "Future of manuscript cataloguing," 157. Van Egmond, paraphrasing Hope Mayo, is writing at an early point in the adoption of digital standards for manuscript cataloguing.

27 *Ibid*., 157.

28 For general accounts of the history of book assembly and binding, see Foot, *Bookbinders at work* and Pearson, *English bookbinding styles*.

29 Dane, *What is a book?*, 171.

30 Knight, *Bound to read*.

31 Two examples out of many I could list are Oxford, Bodleian Library, 8° Rawl. 662, containing a fragment from a Sarum Breviary, a manuscript notebook relating to the office of Bedel at Oxford, and a printed commentary to the psalms; and Cambridge, St. John's College, T.9.1, containing a printed psalter bound with manuscript liturgical offices and family information recorded by a known sixteenth-century owner.

32 New Haven, Yale Beinecke Library, Gb4 212 is a collection of sixteenth-century Latin and Greek instructional books that appear to have been interleaved for educational use. An example from the seventeenth century is Cambridge, MA, Harvard Houghton Library, EC65.D8474.Zz650b, John Dryden's interleaved Greek exercise book.

33 Smyth, *Autobiography in early modern England*, 15–56. For an example of an emblem book that was turned into a notebook, see Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. Poet.f.10.

34 Hanna, *Pursuing history*, 7.

35 See Potter, "London bookbinding trade." Potter writes: "Cloth casing transformed book binding from a craft to an industry … Bookbinding had been perceived as something that had no part in the regular production and distribution of books, an optional embellishment which the buyer could arrange for if he chose. Edition binding changed all that" (280).

36 Outside the history of the book, I would add, there is more awareness of continuity from the Middle Ages. See, for example, Perry and Watkins, *Shakespeare and the Middle Ages.*

37 Hanna, *Pursuing history*, 9. See also the foundational Griffiths and Pearsall, *Book production and publishing* and the recent reassessment, A. Gillespie and Wakelin, *Production of books*.

38 On anthology formations and their intellectual and literary significance, see Lerer, "Medieval English literature." On miscellanies, see Hanna, "Miscellaneity and vernacularity," among other contributions to that volume. For a survey account of composite forms, see Boffey and Thompson, "Anthologies and miscellanies."

39 Pollard and Redgrave, *Short-title catalogue of books*. For prominent examples of studies of early print culture that look forward to the categories of modern publishing, see Erne, *Shakespeare as a literary dramatist*; Loewenstein, *Ben Jonson and possessive authorship*; Massai, *Shakespeare and the rise of the editor*; and Vickers, *Shakespeare, co-author*.

40 Beal, *Index of English literary manuscripts*. Most of Beal's entries point to composite volumes or miscellanies. On the commonplace book, see Beal, "Notions in garrison," and Moss, *Printed commonplace-books*.

41 See A. Gillespie, "Poets, printers, and *Sammelbände*," and Knight, *Bound to read*, chs. 1–2.

42 See De Hamel, "Leaf book"; D. McKitterick, *Old books, new technologies*; and Needham, *Printer and the pardoner*, esp. appendix B.

43 Edmonds quoted in Hallam, "Lamport Hall revisited," 444.

44 Nolan, "Notes of the month," 291–2.

45 Edmonds, *Annotated catalogue*, unpaginated verso of title page.
46 Orgel, "Introduction," xiv, xvii, and ix.
47 *Ibid*., xvii.
48 British Library shelf mark C.40.e.68. Items 2 and 3 are Sabie, *Fisher-mans tale* and *Flora's fortune.*
49 Newcomb, "Greene, Robert." On the Patient Grissel tradition and the links between *Pandosto* and *The clerk's tale*, see Baldwin, "From the *Clerk's tale*" and McNeal, "*The Clerk's tale*." Outside of English, the Griselda lineage goes back to Petrarch.
50 Sig. B4v.
51 Sig. G1v.
52 Sokol, "Petowe, Henry."
53 Crathern, "Romanticized version," 382.
54 See Weaver, "Marlowe's fable," 391. For a complication of the genealogy of Marlowe's version in light of European vernacular models, see Boutcher, "Who taught thee Rhetoricke."
55 Weaver, "Marlowe's fable," 391.
56 *Ibid*., 392.
57 Minnis, *Medieval theory of authorship*, 191. See also Parkes, "Influence of the concepts of *ordinatio* and *compilatio*," Hanna, *Pursuing history*, 247–57, and more recently, Bahr, *Fragments and assemblages.*
58 Some explicits of the *Tales* read "compiled by Geffrey Chaucer" (see most famously the Ellesmere Manuscript [San Marino, CA, Huntington Library, MS EL 26.C.9], fol. 232v). John Bale's play *Three laws* (1548) refers to itself as "Compyled by Johan Bale" (sig. A2r). Nine books of Skelton's works printed between 1554 and 1563 were described on title pages as "compiled by Master Skelton." E. K. remarks in the editorial introduction to *The shepheardes calender* (1579) that Spenser "compiled these xii. Aeglogues" (sig. §3r).
59 All quotations from *Hero and Leander* are taken from Orgel, *Christopher Marlowe*.
60 Campbell surveys the various uses of the term by printers in the period. "The rubric '*Desunt nonnulla*' in these cases could be interpreted literally to mean that sections of the manuscript were missing" ("'Desunt nonnulla,'" 246). Another example of *Hero and Leander* in a *Sammelband* can be found in Richard Burton's collection now at the Bodleian Library (shelf mark 8° T 27 Art Seld). Other works by Marlowe in *Sammelbände* have recently been recovered or discussed. See Masten, "Bound for Germany," and my *Bound to read*, 73–5.
61 McGann, "Philology in a new key," 343.

CHAPTER 6

# *Containing the book: the institutional afterlives of medieval manuscripts*

*Siân Echard*

In February 2013, the British Library's manuscripts blog featured an article on fire-damaged books, with the title "Crisp as a poppadom."[1] The last item described was London, British Library, Cotton Otho MS A.xii (hereafter Otho A.xii), an Anglo-Saxon manuscript now reduced to small charred fragments in Melinex sleeves.[2] A user of the manuscript – as distinct from a reader of the blog – will discover, inside its front cover, the penciled note, "See also Otho A xii*." This note refers to a sixteenth-century transcription of Asser's *Life of Alfred*, the work with which (before the infamous fire of 1731) Otho A.xii began, and it was, as it happens, the manuscript I had actually come to see, on the day I sat gingerly turning the plastic-coated pages of Otho A.xii. I was working on sixteenth-century transcriptions at the time, and was tracking those associated with Matthew Parker (1504–75), Archbishop of Canterbury and a famous collector of medieval manuscripts. Parker was particularly interested in Old English theological and legal writing, and routinely commissioned copies of manuscripts he did not own himself, for use in his research. One of Parker's manuscripts, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College (hereafter CCCC), MS 100, is a miscellaneous volume of sixteenth-century transcriptions, and it includes another transcription of Asser's *Life*, taken, the Parker catalogue said, from "the lost Cotton MS. Otho A XII."[3] A routine British Library online catalogue search for this not-in-fact-quite-lost manuscript had told me of the existence of Otho A.xii*, though with very little additional information beyond its once having belonged to John Lumley (*c*.1533–1609). I satisfied my curiosity about the Parkerian connections of the transcription in Otho A.xii*, noting that it is in the hand of Stephen Batman (*c*.1542–84), a member of Parker's circle, as is CCCC 100,[4] but found myself musing over the institutional framing of both manuscripts, and more specifically, about what that asterisk might have to say about the status of the transcription. Was Otho A.xii* being offered as a kind of prosthesis, a replacement for the missing medieval manuscript? Did "see also" in Otho A.xii

and the asterisk on the transcription imply a kind of hierarchy, one in which the fragments in the Melinex sleeves somehow outranked the transcription? This seemed, in short, a contradictory object, an artifact that both required institutional recognition – "see also," as the library annotation demanded – and yet could also be put in a separate, asterisked category, one where it might be overlooked.

Otho A.xii is a "Select Manuscript," insulated by an extra layer of institutional protection in a way that, given the fragility of what survives, makes perfect sense. Yet the term, at least in the world beyond the library's doors, suggests a value-laden assessment, and I find it profitable to approach the term from that angle. These medieval fragments are all but illegible. If the value of a book-object inheres in delivering a text, then the fragments have far less value than does the sixteenth-century transcript of Asser's work, because the transcript is mostly intact, and entirely legible.[5] There is no surviving medieval manuscript of Asser's *Life*, and so the early modern witnesses – Matthew Parker's edition, along with a handful of sixteenth-century transcripts – in a real sense *are* Asser's text. While Cotton Otho A.xii* is not regarded as being as important as that other Parkerian transcript, CCCC 100, it is nevertheless a significant witness to a lost medieval original.[6] It may seem whimsical to press too much on a shelving and access protocol that speaks as much or more to fragility as it does to importance (and that is also subject to constant re-evaluation). The asterisk, too, is in part simply a routine institutional gesture, commonly understood to signify substitution. Nevertheless, I find it useful to begin this discussion by drawing attention to the classification of Otho A.xii* and to the asterisk in its shelfmark, because to do so allows me to consider the implications of the institutional markers (classification, shelfmark, and catalogue entry) that frame the transcript. By paying attention to mundane or unremarked practices, we can open up a conversation about the ways books are constructed, and reconstructed, in the archives that hold them.

In this essay I explore how two different libraries have interacted with manuscripts associated with Matthew Parker, as well as how those interactions might structure scholarly encounters with those manuscripts. Parker's books are particularly suited to an examination of this sort. Because Parker routinely reorganized manuscripts, neatened them, corrected them, and added transcriptions and printed material to them, his books are often fascinating hybrids that challenge both pragmatic and notional classification systems. The examples I will deal with here inhabit a complex space created by their past and present use, and we must move through a series

of encounters with their history as part of the scholarly attempt to access them. While we often make those moves unconsciously, I want to suggest that there is much to gain in revealing the apparatus and architecture of such encounters. Cotton Otho A.xii* is, I have noted, a legible version of a lost medieval text. It is also a witness to the lively scholarship of the early modern period, and a connection to one of the most important collectors and scholars of that period, Matthew Parker. Yet in many ways, the object itself is, if not hidden, at least obscured by its institutional history. Its story can with effort be drawn into the light, but I want to argue that institutional and scholarly distinctions between medieval and early modern manuscripts, from at least the seventeenth century onward, contribute significantly to the difficulty of that task. I will also suggest that story of Otho A.xii and A.xii* is a dramatic example of a more general reality, one that thus helps us bring into the light the structures that sit between, and mediate, our encounters with medieval manuscripts.

As is the case with many Cottonian manuscripts, the descriptions for both the asterisked and unasterisked manuscripts are sparse, whether one starts with the current online archives and manuscripts catalogue, or with the printed catalogues, the most recent of which, by Joseph Planta, was published in 1802.[7] Colin Tite wrote in 1984 that until there is a replacement for the 1802 Planta catalogue (upon which the current online catalogue is based), "it is necessary to search through a variety of material in order to secure reliable information about a Cotton manuscript."[8] This is still the case today, and for a manuscript such as Otho A.xii*, that search can be even more difficult than usual, because of the shifting treatment of transcripts in the systems that have existed to catalogue this kind of material. The online catalogue has one provenance entry for Otho A.xii*, placing the transcript in the collection of John Lumley, but with no further information about its origins, how it came into the Cotton collection (if it did at all, about which more in a moment), nor how or when it acquired its current shelfmark.[9] A perusal of the old printed catalogues offers very little additional information. The 1696 catalogue by Thomas Smith lists thirteen items for Otho A.xii, starting with "Asserius Menevensis de gestis Alfredi Regis, charactere antique," and finishing "De S. Erchenwaldo."[10] The transcript does not appear in this catalogue. Simon Keynes notes that some early modern transcripts were omitted from the Smith catalogue, "presumably because they were not deemed to be worthy of inclusion in their own right,"[11] but absence from a catalogue does not allow us to assume presence in a collection, and even if the transcript were omitted because of its status, we still cannot tell, from this entry, whether it was a

Cotton manuscript at all, let alone what its proximity to Otho A.xii might have been.

The transcript does eventually get mentioned in the catalogues, though tellingly, in ways that might obscure its status as an historical artifact in its own right. The 1777 catalogue collated its own work against that of the 1732 report of the committee established to inventory the damage to the Cotton collection,[12] and noted of the Otho A classification that, "A. according to the Report, consists of eighteen Numbers, all destroyed; yet we discovered the first Part of Number 12, being the Life of Alfred, by Asser Menevensis."[13] By the time of the 1802 catalogue, in which the Otho A.xii entry reads "Codex chartaceus in 4to. constans foliis 36. Asserius Menevensis de rebus gestis ab Aelfredo rege: calce mutilus" [paper quarto codex containing 36 folios. Asser of St. David's deeds of King Alfred: mutilated at the finish], a note has been added: "N. B. This cannot be the MS. that was originally in the Cottonian library under the above reference, and which is said to have been used by Archbp. Parker; since that appears to have been of an ancient date, in Saxon letters, and on vellum; whereas this is of a modern hand, and on paper."[14] The puzzling designation of the sixteenth-century hand (Figure 6.1, Cotton Otho A.xii*, fol. 1r) as "modern" may perhaps simply be intended to contrast the transcript with its medieval original, but the effect can be to obscure the early modern nature of the transcript. A similar contrast, and effect, may be at work in Frederic Madden's notes to the 1732 report, written some time after the bindery fire of 1865, which record that "In the place of the original Ms. another was substituted on paper, and described in Planta's Catalogue, 1802, containing a *recent* transcript of Asser."[15] Andrew Prescott's reconstruction of the intertwined histories of Otho A.xii and Otho A.xii* posits that the transcript was placed in Otho A.xii's spot in the late eighteenth century; he further suggests that it received its asterisked shelfmark some time in the nineteenth.[16]

It is worth lingering a little longer over the first part of that shelfmark, in addition to its asterisk. There is nothing in this reconstructed history to suggest that the transcript ever belonged to Cotton. Its very survival, when almost everything in the Otho case was destroyed, seems to confirm that it was somewhere else on that fateful day in 1731;[17] this would make sense if, as William Henry Stevenson suggests, Otho A.xii* can be identified with London, British Library, Royal MS 577.[18] In other words, the "Cotton" in Otho A.xii*'s shelfmark may speak to its role as replacement (as does the asterisk), rather than being an indication of provenance. It is a rather pleasing irony that in David Casley's list of the destroyed Cotton

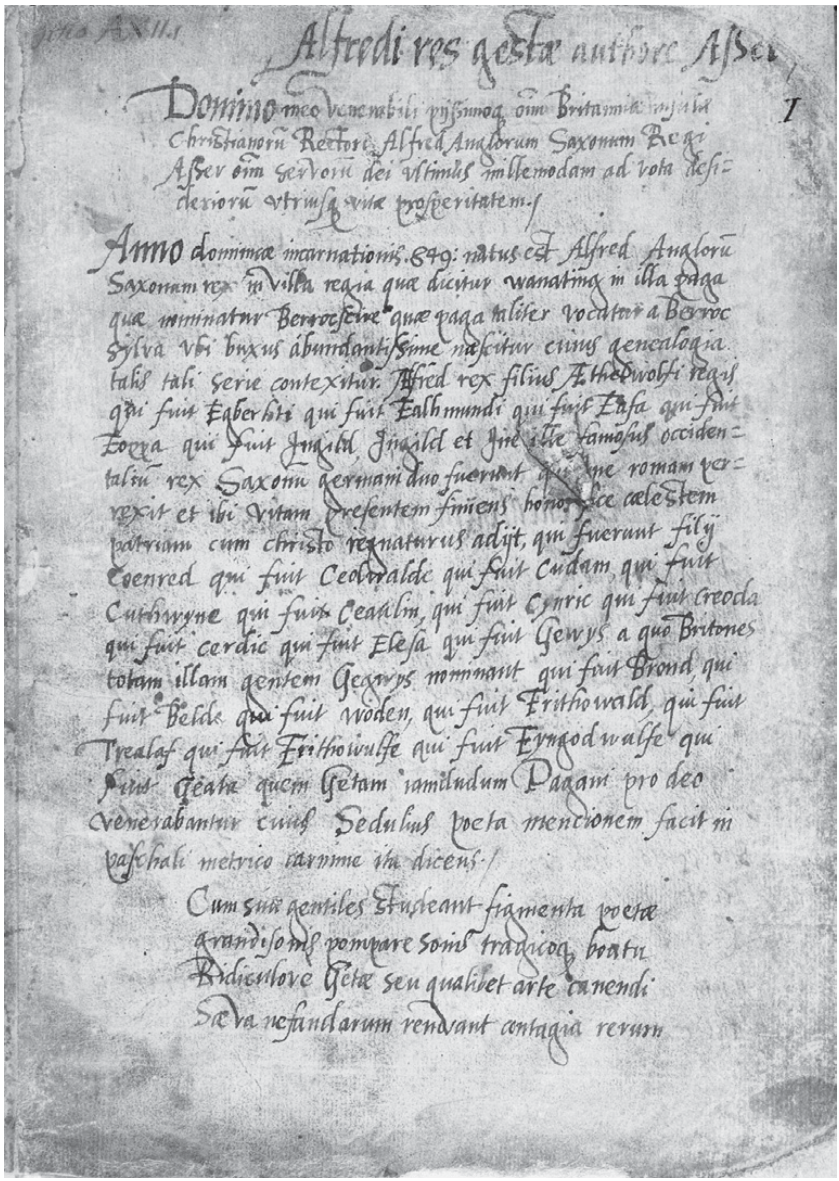


Figure 6.1. London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho A.xii*, fol. 1r.

manuscripts, asterisks were used to indicate that a manuscript had been completely lost,[19] meaning that in the 1732 report, Cotton Otho A.xii was entered as *XII, and so there have been *two* asterisked versions that share the name Otho A.xii. The shelfmark stares, Janus-like, in two directions; there, the now impossibly romantic, lost Cotton Otho A.xii (I am thinking here of Prescott's remarks about "the allure of lost manuscripts"),[20] and here, the ambivalently real Cotton Otho A.xii*. I say "ambivalently real" not merely because of the confusion over the origins and institutional movements of this artifact, but also because, as any medievalist who has been offered an institutional "surrogate" (microfilm, digitization) instead of an original manuscript will attest, however good a job the surrogate does of conveying information, there is still something deeply disappointing about it. In the case of the asterisked transcript, however, there is no original hiding in a locked case waiting for the right letter of introduction, and so disappointment would not seem to be the proper response.

That the asterisk in the shelfmark is in some ways symbolic of the status of the transcript may be suggested by the contrast between this extant artifact's scanty official history, and the elaborate bio-bibliography constructed by scholars for the non-asterisked manuscript with which it shares a shelf(mark). We might frame the treatment of lost original and extant copies as a contrast between what might have been and what is; between a lost past and an overlooked or elided present, in which the normal scholarly practice of reconstructing what is gone can lead us to ignore what still exists. Two examples from the history of scholarship on Asser's *Life* will illustrate what I mean. William Henry Stevenson, who edited the *Life* in 1904, provides a careful history for Cotton Otho A.xii, tracing it from the ownership of John Leland to Matthew Parker to Lumley to Cotton.[21] There is much discussion of the possible origin of the manuscript, and some attention to later use, in so far as Matthew Parker's characteristic red crayon markings are part of tracing the movement of the manuscript through various early modern hands. The transcript, however, is mentioned only in passing. Citing the work done by Thomas James (1572/3–1629) toward his 1600 catalogue of manuscripts, Stevenson remarks that James notes having seen two "copies" of Asser's *Life* in the collection of Lumley, but, he goes on, "As [James] makes no mention of a second MS. in the library in his letter to Allen, in which he recounts the lengthened searches that he made for MSS. of this work, we may conclude that the second MS. was a transcript."[22] This distinction between copy (any witness of a text), manuscript (which for Stevenson seems to mean a medieval copy), and transcript has organizational force in the conventions

attending editorial introductions such as this one. Stevenson concludes this section of his introduction simply by noting that the transcript apparently seen by James might be either of Cotton Otho A.xii* or Cambridge, University Library, Additional MS 3825.[23] But because transcripts are *not* manuscripts (even though, of course, they are, in literal terms), one must flip ahead about twenty pages or so to read further details about either of these transcripts. The asterisked transcript, when it is finally described, is said to be "very carelessly written, abounding in errors, transpositions of words, blundered forms, omissions, and wrong case and tense endings."[24]

Like Stevenson, Helmut Gneuss, who describes the combusted Otho A.xii thoroughly in "Die Handschrift Cotton Otho A. XII," concerns himself chiefly with the now lost eleventh-century copy of Asser's *Life* that the manuscript used to contain, and not with the sixteenth-century transcript that exists, not under erasure, exactly, but under asterisk-sure. His list of the manuscript's contents begins with the copy of Asser: "Das einzige im Mittelalter geschriebene Exemplar von Assers Leben König Alfreds, das in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts noch existierte."[25] Gneuss is particularly interested in working out when the lost manuscript copy became part of the larger book.[26] It is perhaps for this reason that he devotes considerable attention to one copy of the original manuscript, a facsimile copy of a single page, made in 1722 for Francis Wise (Figure 6.2).[27] This facsimile – mentioned also by Stevenson – shows letter forms that allow dating of the lost manuscript on paleographical grounds. The complete transcription, on the other hand, which witnesses the content of the manuscript, is in a sixteenth-century italic (Figure 6.1). It is entirely unsurprising that Gneuss should be interested in establishing as much as possible about the date and contents of the original manuscript, but it remains striking to compare the evidence status, in his account, of the two copies. The letter forms in the Wise facsimile are apparently considered accurate enough to date the lost manuscript, while the text witnessed in the transcript is accorded much less status in terms of determining the (lost) words of that manuscript.[28]

How scholars deal with this interplay between what was, what is, and what might have been is a central question, one that is further complicated by the role of institutions in transmitting, or sometimes obscuring, those histories. For example, the brief description of the manuscript with which Gneuss's article opens acknowledges that the beginning of Otho A.xii today is not in fact from Otho A.xii at all, but consists rather of seven burned leaves from Aethelweard's *Chronicle* that originally belonged to Cotton Otho A.x.[29] Gneuss then, however, moves swiftly into "Der Inhalt

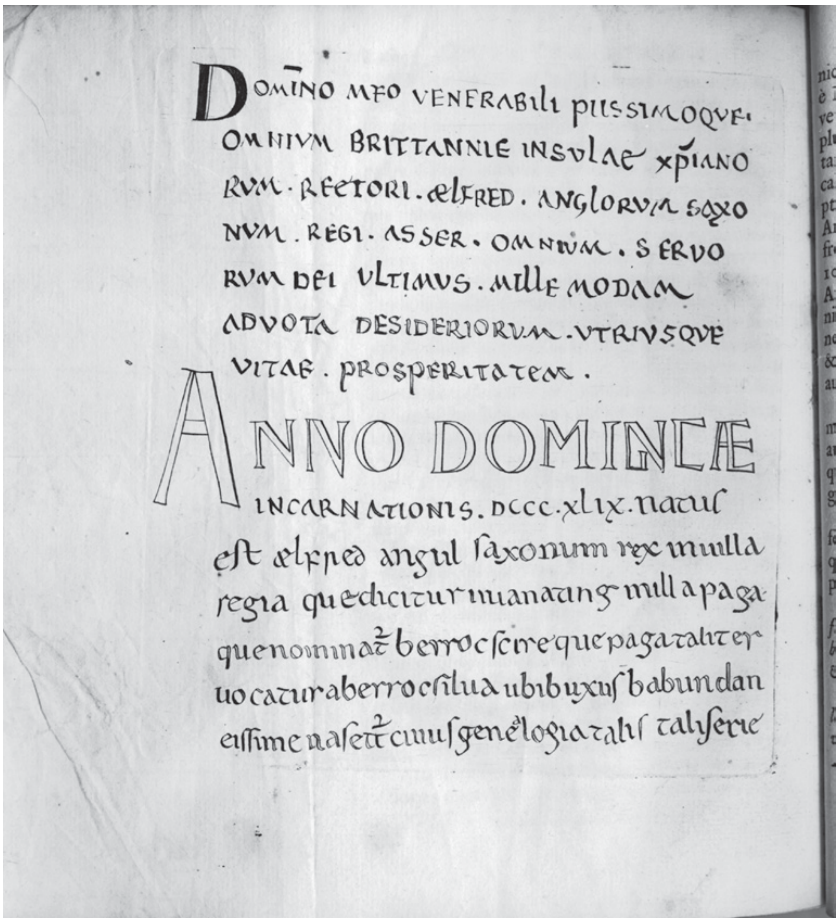


Figure 6.2. Facsimile plate of London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho A.xii, fol. 1r, from Francis Wise, *Annales rerum gestarum Ælfredi magni, auctore Asserio Menevensi* (Oxford, 1722).

des Hs. Otho A. XII," describing the absent original opening, and only at the very end of his careful reconstruction does he return to the fragments from Aethelweard and the current ("heutigen") state of the manuscript.[30] It was not only Otho A.xii that "noch existierte" in the sixteenth century; so too did the transcript that eventually came to sit, perhaps rather diffidently, in its place. Furthermore, thanks to the error concerning the Aethelweard fragments, Gneuss's list of contents represents a hypothetical former state,

rather than a current one. The necessary editorial attempt to reconstruct a lost original thus brackets and overwrites two existing artifacts. I turn now to several other manuscripts associated with Matthew Parker, to further illustrate the gaps and fissures which scholarly and institutional architectures – created by standard approaches to manuscript descriptions, provenances, and curation – can open up between modern readers and the early modern moment witnessed in so many medieval manuscripts.

CCCC MS 43 is a fourteenth-century copy of William of Malmesbury's Anglo-Latin *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*. It may have been written in Norwich, and it seems to have belonged to John Bale before passing into the hands of Matthew Parker. This much about the manuscript is easily derived from the description given by M. R. James in 1912, now widely available online through its migration to the Parker Library on the Internet. While the Parker project presents online descriptions alongside a link to the "Original James Record" in a form that suggests a distinction between the two kinds of cataloguing, in fact for many items in the Parker collection – and CCCC 43 is one such item – the James record is, for the moment at least, the main provider of content to the online version. In other words, what M. R. James thought in 1912 is what still presents a manuscript to a reader more than a century later. As discussed above in the case of the British Library's online manuscripts catalogue, the new technological interface often sits over much older data, and while the promise of constant updating is slowly being fulfilled in many such catalogues, breaking them out of the structures that first formed them – in the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, or early twentieth centuries – is often a more complex matter. For example, while the printed James catalogue includes the earlier, Latin manuscript descriptions provided by James Nasmith in his 1777 catalogue,[31] these have not made their way entirely into the online version of the descriptions presented to users of the Parker Library on the Internet. Nasmith's references to material support and format – such standard notations as "codex membranaceus," "in quarto," "in folio," and so on – are omitted. His contents lists tend to be included. Perhaps the Latin was felt to be inappropriate for an online version aimed at a range of users; perhaps it was the language of codicology that was considered opaque; or perhaps, because the "Original James Record" referred to above, presented as a PDF version of the printed book, does include all of Nasmith's Latin descriptions (when these are not separated from the English by a page break), it was felt that little would be lost by streamlining the online version of the catalogue material, as an expert could readily access the full record in PDF, while the novice would be presented only

with the more easily understood material. Still, the process of sifting and streamlining the Nasmith/James entries for the online version remains an example of the complexities of migrating old descriptions to new formats. And it is often the case that the assumptions governing the older print catalogues remain in the new formats.

In the entry for CCCC 43, the presentation of manuscript dating is of particular interest. The date is given thus: "Cent. xiv (and xvi), in pale ink. Blue initials with pretty red flourishing."[32] This description is from the top level; that is, it precedes the contents list. The initial expectation created in a user might be that one would encounter a largely fourteenth-century manuscript, with attractive blue and red decoration. That overall description only applies, however, to the first sixty-eight folios. Thereafter follows a section of almost equal length, folios 64r to 112v, the sixteenth-century portion of the manuscript. This is a section of text that was missing from the medieval original and that has been supplied later, from another copy of William's text, "by one of Parker's secretaries," as the catalogue goes on to note. The sixteenth-century portion has a note in the top right margin of its opening page, indicating where it belongs in the original (CCCC 43, 65r). A Parkerian chapter number appears next to that section of the original manuscript, which also includes Parkerian underlining and notes, showing an interest in the places (London and Canterbury) being described (CCCC 43, fol. 1r). The sixteenth-century portion is very much of a piece with the fourteenth-century manuscript, when viewed as a record of use. Other sixteenth-century material in CCCC 43 includes, at the end of the manuscript, a single leaf of extracts from William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum Anglorum*.

The catalogue entry, then, provides a description of many of the manuscript's essential features and of its history, for James was a great manuscript scholar, and the Parker project is a wonderful resource. But if we read the description as a narrative – if we think of institutional and disciplinary practices as constituting a discursive system that frames and locates the manuscript in particular ways – then, as with the asterisk in Otho A.xii*, there is an implicit hierarchy being conveyed. The first state of CCCC 43 is privileged, and its later forms are set apart, both typographically in the parentheses that date the sixteenth-century portion, and spatially in the sequential listing so typical of provenance descriptions (Norwich to Bale to Parker). While it makes perfect sense to start with what is original in a manuscript, it might also be suggested that few medieval manuscripts, by the time we get around to describing them, are really in their original state any more; at least, not if we consider the potential

effects of the institutional contexts that now frame our access to even the most apparently pristine and unaltered of medieval artifacts. In the case of artifacts that belonged to a collector like Parker, who routinely took manuscripts apart and put them back together again in new configurations, we do well to remember, as the Corpus librarian R. I. Page once observed, that these manuscripts are "in a sense sixteenth-century ones."[33] The sixteenth century is not parenthetical to a manuscript like CCCC 43, in other words; it is essential. And yet, as was the case with Otho A.xii* and the scholarly work on Asser's vanished *Life*, even as the sixteenth-century artifact remains in full (or, in the digital age, even fuller) view, established habits, whether codicological or paleographical or institutional, can convey a value-laden narrative that has the potential to manage the questions we ask of the material remnants of the medieval or the early modern past. Parker's many interventions repackage and repurpose medieval texts, turning the manuscripts that contain them into hybrids of medieval and early modern reading and writing practices. These hybrids then present challenges to the repositories that currently deliver them to us, and the Parker digitization project makes those challenges and institutional practices particularly visible. A few more examples will serve to illustrate what I mean.

I discussed above the odd designation, in both the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, of the hand of Otho A.xii* as "modern" or "recent." The terms could be errors, though it is hard to imagine that to be the case by the time of Frederic Madden. They are useful to me, however, because they enforce a separation between past (however constructed) and present copyists. What happens, though, if we think of early modern intervenors in a manuscript's history as persons whose contributions are central rather than peripheral? CCCC 178 is one of Parker's many Old English homily collections.[34] Page 31 is an added, sixteenth-century leaf, written in Anglo-Saxon script (Figure 6.3: CCCC 178, p. 31). A comparison of the scripts on this leaf and in the rest of the manuscript shows that the archaizing hand is just that, a hand; that is, the writer has his own suite of letter forms which are in keeping with the original, but do not exactly mimic that original. Unlike the page from Cotton Otho A.xii made for Francis Wise in 1722, discussed above, this leaf is not a facsimile. Page thought the scribe was Parker himself.[35] The Parker catalogue suggests that the leaf might have been supplied by Lyly, Parker's "artificer"; as was the case with CCCC 43, this observation is M. R. James's (p. 415 of the print catalogue). Besides Lyly, other members of Parker's circle, such as John Joscelyn and Laurence Nowell, were skilled producers of Anglo-Saxon hands.[36] Malcolm Parkes has suggested that these men seem to have based

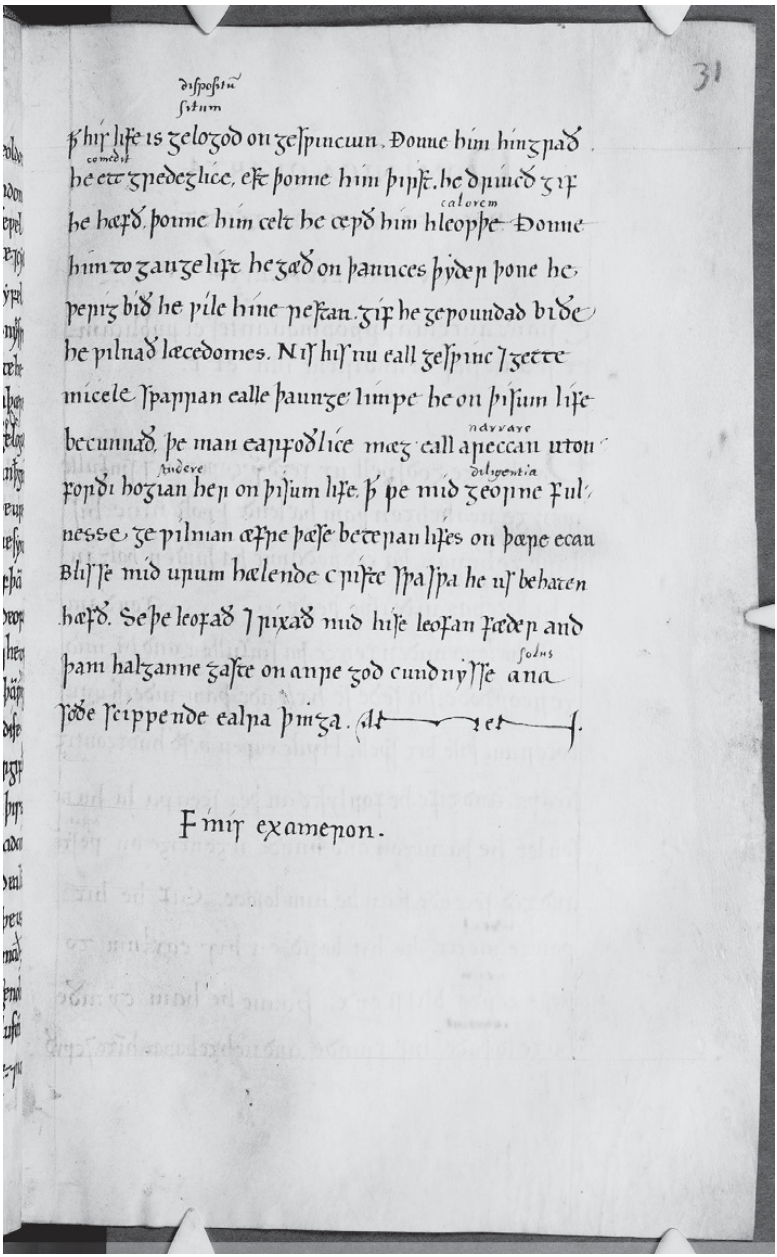


Figure 6.3. A sixteenth-century leaf, written in Anglo-Saxon script, added to Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 178, p. 31.

their hands on the exemplars from which they were copying, rather than on the texts into which the copies were to be inserted.[37] The impulse is not strictly the production of facsimile, then, but rather the development of a personal repertoire of authentic scripts. Just as medieval scribes developed and then chose from their own personal repertoire of hands, so too do their sixteenth-century descendants. Thus Parker's circle can be understood as a "community of scribes," linked in their practice to their medieval predecessors.[38] In CCCC 178, for example, while the main text hand is an Anglo-Saxon script, the glosses are in a more contemporary hand; in the original, the glossing hand, while of course it is an Anglo-Saxon script, is less formal than the book hand. The sixteenth-century titles often added, by Parker himself and by those working with him, to the manuscripts in the archbishop's collection are, again, in a sense continuous with medieval scribal practice: just as an abbey might add a fifteenth-century ownership inscription to a thirteenth-century manuscript, Parker's circle made their own contributions to the archbishop's books. The distinctions made above by Stevenson's careful separation of manuscript from transcript in his edition of Asser's *Life of Alfred*, or by the parentheses attached to the dating of the sixteenth-century portions of Parker's manuscripts, suggest a separation between medieval and early modern that obscures the dynamic history of many medieval manuscripts.[39] On both sides of the period divide we in fact encounter scribes, producers, and makers, all adding to the ongoing story of the objects with which they are involved.

CCCC 178 needed the added leaf in question, not because the medieval original was lacking something when it came into Parker's collection, but rather because of what Parker himself did to the manuscript. He moved a section from this manuscript to another homily collection, CCCC 162. A half-leaf has been pasted over the opening of that section in its new location, so that the text will make sense in its new context. In this case, unlike the added leaf in CCCC 178, the hand used is a regular sixteenth-century one, not an archaizing hand, except for the final line of text (Figure 6.4; CCCC 162, p. 139). The top of the initial I on the original leaf is partially covered by the pastedown, and has been carefully completed on the sixteenth-century leaf. While the surgery performed on these two manuscripts is radical, then, it is carefully done nonetheless. R. I. Page has written at length about these kinds of manipulations in Parker's collection. Of particular interest to me is how later scholars and librarians have dealt with them.

I have already suggested, in insisting on the scribal nature of the hands of Parker's circle, that I view these new hybrids as significant moments

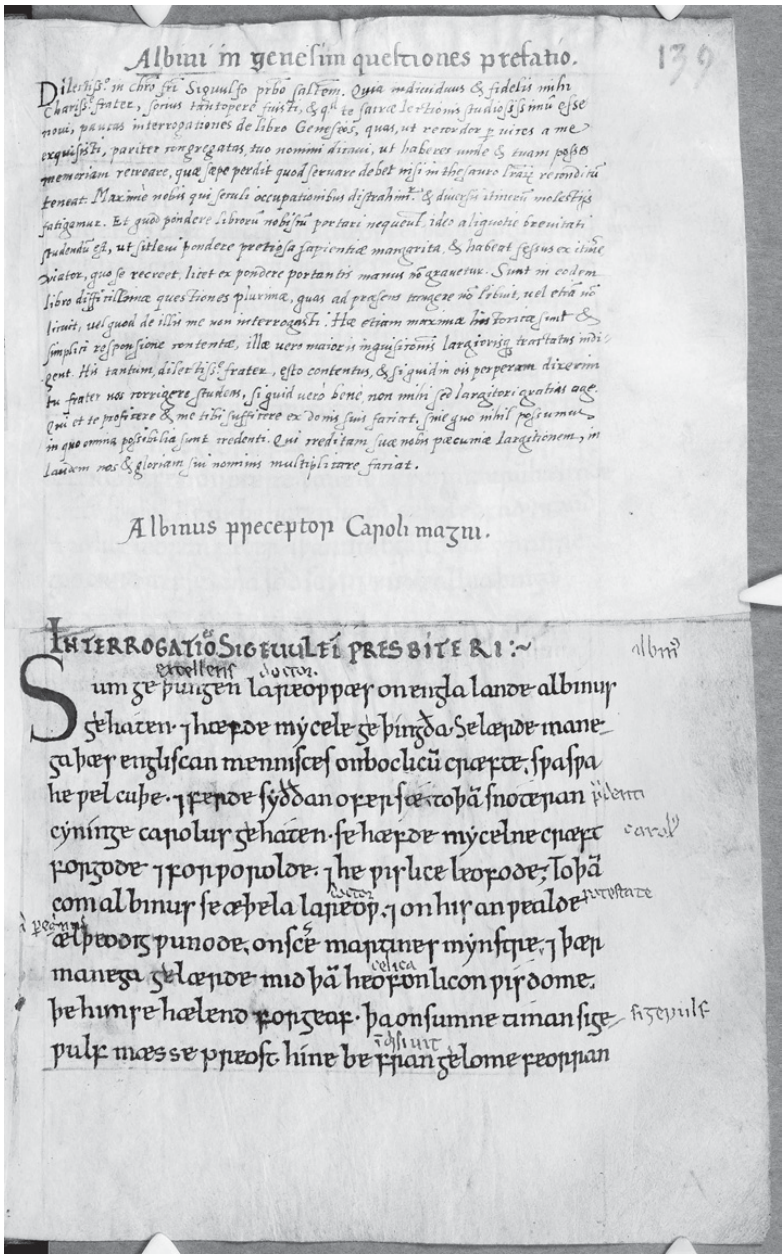


Figure 6.4. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 162, p. 139.
By permission of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

in the histories of these manuscripts, but certainly Parker's manipulations present later custodians of these blended objects with particular challenges. CCCC 162 also has a frontispiece from a printed missal, pasted into that position by Parker.[40] This Parkerian addition is still in place in the manuscript, but another witness to his interaction with CCCC 162 is not. The pastedown over the leaf in CCCC 162 from CCCC 178 occurs, as noted above, at the beginning of a section moved from one manuscript to the other, and the pastedown served to make the text on the leaf from CCCC 178 make sense in its new home. The final leaf of the interpolated section, page 160, ends in mid-sentence, so a reader turns to page 161 expecting the text to continue on the next leaf. However, this page is from the "original" manuscript into which the section from CCCC 178 was interpolated, and it begins a new section of the text, so that the partial sentence from page 160 is never completed. Why, then, did Parker not tidy up the end of the interpolation, as he had done at the beginning of it?

In fact, he did treat the end of the interpolated section in exactly the same way, but a curatorial decision has obscured that fact. If one flips to the end of the manuscript today, one will discover a scrap of medieval manuscript which was, originally, pasted over the bottom half of the final folio of the interpolated chunk (Figure 6.5). A reader of the manuscript in its current state first encounters it with its text visible. It is clear one is viewing a medieval manuscript scrap, obviously later in date than the manuscript in which it was found, but still important, the presentation suggests, as a medieval document. However, in Parker's day this scrap was pasted in with the blank side showing; its purpose was simply to cover up the extraneous text on the interpolated leaf. Its current presentation is the result of a curatorial decision made in 1970. At that time, this scrap was lifted from the leaf to which it was pasted, and then rebound in the back of the manuscript, in a traditional recto / verso presentation. At the same time, the first pastedown discussed here – the sixteenth-century leaf that covered half of the first page of the interpolated section from CCCC 178 – was left in situ. Why this "half and half" approach? The current librarians, who have been very helpful to me, note that there is very little documentation surviving from an extensive rebinding program that was carried out from the 1950s to the 1970s, and so we can only speculate as to the differing treatment of these pastedowns. I wonder whether the issue has to do with categories. The sixteenth-century pastedown obscures the "original" and so might perhaps have been removed if the goal were to return to something more like that earlier state, but it is also, in itself, part of that parenthetical sixteenth-century – that is, non-medieval – category.

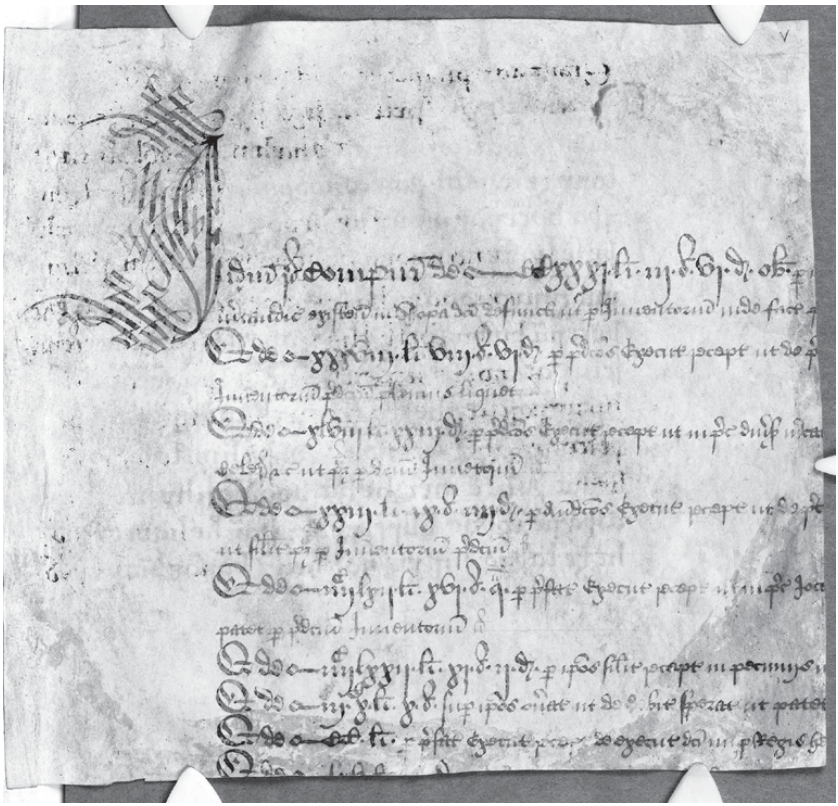


Figure 6.5. A scrap from a medieval manuscript pasted to Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 162, fol. vr

In that sense, it has no particular value. The second pastedown, however, is medieval; was it perhaps removed so that its written side could be seen? In that case, what was in Parker's day categorized as scrap has been reinvested with significance.

CCCC 66A, as it is now known, is a particularly interesting example of Parker's more extreme manipulations and their afterlife. When M. R. James described the manuscript in 1912, its shelfmark was CCCC 66, and it was made up of half of a manuscript that had belonged to Sawley Abbey, and half of another belonging to Bury St. Edmunds. The other halves of these two manuscripts had been bound together as Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff.1.27, and this composite manuscript was given by Parker to the University Library. The opening of what is now called

66A – numbered still with its Parkerian number of p. 116 – consists of a Parkerian table of contents, and a pasted-on scrap of fourteenth- or fifteenth-century parchment with an old pressmark and contents list as the verso of the manuscript's first opening. The recto is the original (that is, medieval) index to Jacques de Vitry's *Historia orientalis*, with the Parkerian pagination 117, though this is now the first folio of the manuscript. The Sawley portion of the manuscript has a partial list of contents added in the fifteenth century, along with a Parkerian note that directs a reader to folio 117; that is, to the index to the *Historia orientalis.* The start of de Vitry's text in the Bury portion of the manuscript is not page 123, as might be expected after accounting for the table of contents and a blank leaf, but has rather been foliated as 1r. This is not a Parkerian foliation, but dates instead from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.[41] The Sawley portion of the manuscript, on the other hand, shows both a Parkerian pagination and an early modern ink foliation. The pages of CCCC 66/66A, then, bear traces of several organizing systems, with one more major organization left to consider.

When M. R. James described the manuscript, he created a table showing how the two medieval manuscripts – the one belonging to Sawley and the one belonging to Bury – were pulled apart and recombined by Parker.[42] While Parker often was guided by similarity in size rather than in content when creating his combined manuscripts,[43] in this case the contents lists of the new composite manuscripts suggest that Parker's recombinations created new entities that had demonstrable coherence. The new CCCC 66 became a collection emphasizing geography, travels, and texts of an orientalist/exotic character, while the manuscript created for the university became a historical miscellany with a more British focus. As noted above, however, there has been a significant change since James described CCCC 66. The page (117) with which I began discussion of this manuscript belongs to what is now known as CCCC 66A. In a 1954 rebinding, the decision was taken to split the Parkerian composite along the lines of its constituent parts and rebind them as separate entities; 66A is the Bury St. Edmunds section, and 66 is now only the material that originated in Sawley. David Dumville, discussing the manuscript in 1980, remarked that "a quarter-century ago, the College authorities rightly saw fit to separate the two distinct parts."[44] Rightly – because the Parkerian manuscript was thus taken back to something closer to its original state, or rather states? As the evidence of the multiple foliations and indices shows, the manuscripts were living, *used* objects even before Parker performed his surgery, and one might also note that 66 and 66A remain partial manuscripts: the

original manuscripts have not in fact been recreated. In a further twist, the other hybrid created by Parker – the one he gave to the university library – remains intact, and librarians there confirm that they have no intention of dismembering it, nor do they know of any discussion to do so in the past.

It is not my intention here to be critical of library practice, for these are not easy materials with which to deal; but rather, to understand how different practices might manage or structure our encounters with medieval materials. For a final set of examples, I turn to Matthew Parker's interactions with the thirteenth-century chronicler Matthew Paris. Parker owned two manuscripts that together made up Paris's *Chronica maiora*. One of them, CCCC 26, was heavily annotated in the sixteenth century. The only reference in the catalogue to annotation is the remark that "Marginal additions are few at first, but become more numerous after the year 1100."[45] Given that the Parkerian notes begin right away, it seems that this record of an engaged but post-medieval reading practice is not what is meant by "additions" and, in fact, most of the James description concentrates on the illustrations for which Paris was particularly known. To be sure, illustrations were important in Parker's understanding of Paris as well. CCCC 56 is a sixteenth-century transcript of the third part of Paris's chronicle that Parker commissioned from a manuscript he did not own himself, the Arundel manuscript, now London, British Library, Royal MS 14.C.vii. The transcript includes, however, a genealogical illustration copied from CCCC 26. This genealogical section is inserted, in the transcription, between the Prologue and the beginning of the text proper. The transcription is itself, then, one of Parker's hybrids, though one that in this case was created entirely in Parker's own day.

Parker's other manuscript of Matthew Paris's *Chronica* is CCCC 16. This manuscript was missing several leaves, and these were supplied by Parker with copies thought to derive from London, British Library, Cotton Nero MS D.v, described by Henry Richards Luard, who edited the *Chronica* for the Rolls Series, as "a most slavish copy of the Corpus MS."[46] These Parkerian leaves are fairly typical of the many transcripts made for Parker: they are in a contemporary hand, yet some features of the original, such as the red division capitals, the running title, and the boxed annotations, are mimicked in the copy. Parker's hybrid manuscript appears intended, then, to create a complete and in some senses appropriate copy, an act that could certainly be understood as an attempt to return these objects to an originary state. I have referred to this manuscript as CCCC 16 and, up until 2003, that is

how scholarship also referred to it. In 2003, however, the manuscript was divided into 16I and 16II; the first part consists solely of the prefatory illustrations and maps often found in copies of Matthew Paris's work, including in this case the famous illustration of Henry III's elephant.[47] 16II now starts with the text proper. The reasons for the separation had to do with conservation – the opening illustrations are in a fragmented state – but when we consider that Parker had illustrative material added to his transcription of the Arundel manuscript of Paris's *Chronica*, there is something particularly poignant about the modern dismembering of Parker's own medieval copy of Paris's work. As for the *Chronica* manuscript Parker did not own – the Arundel MS, now in the British Library – here too there is a new institutional intervention to consider. Royal 14.C.vii is now available online in a complete digitization. A viewer is given access to it in three parts: "maps and other prefatory material" (as in what is now CCCC 16I); the *Historia Anglorum*; and the *Chronica maiora*; a notional/symbolic dismemberment that accords eerily with the splitting of CCCC 16.

When Matthew Parker performed surgery on his books, he was usually trying to complete or improve them in some way. The cataloguing and curatorial practices of institutions have their own (laudable) goals: scholarly clarity, preservation, ease of access, to name a few. But through a reading of institutional and editorial conventions and how they mingle in the case of a few objects that straddle the medieval/early modern divide, I have tried to suggest how these practices also change the manuscripts, how they might direct the way we think about them, and use them, today. Digitization makes it possible in one sense to use medieval manuscripts more fully than has been feasible, for the vast majority of people, since Parker's time. The Parker Library and British Library digitizations enable the kind of archaeology performed in this essay, because they permit us, from anywhere in the world, to see everything on every page, to drill down through layers of institutional framing, and to read across corpora in a way that has never been possible before. At the same time, the existence of the digital avatar on the screen right now has shifted this particular manuscript into the category of restricted access; it is very difficult to get permission to see it in the flesh any more. Parker and his circle handled their manuscripts, scribbled on them, touched them; the miracle of digitization, at precisely the moment it makes visible to us all these layers of past use, also has the potential to remake our own relations to medieval materials in fundamental ways.

NOTES

1 Andrew Precott, James Carley, and Colin Tite all generously responded to my queries as I was writing this piece; any remaining errors are of course my own. Tomalak, "Crisp as a poppadom": http://britishlibrary.typepad.co.uk/digitisedmanuscripts/2013/02/crisp-as-a-poppadom.html.

2 This manuscript was actually damaged by fire twice, first in the Ashburnham House fire of 1731, and then again in the bindery fire of 1865 (see Frederic Madden's note of the "further injuries" to this manuscript, interleaved in the 1732 report on the Ashburnham House fire and reproduced in Tite, *Catalogue of the manuscripts*, np. I would like to thank Andrew Prescott for alerting me to this double disaster.

3 The notation is James's, in *Descriptive catalogue*, vol. 1, 189. That catalogue also includes James Nasmith's description from his 1777 catalogue; Nasmith's entry reads "Ælfredi res gestae, autore Asser, p. 325. Hunc librum apographum esse MS. Cottoniani, nos docet Cl. Wise in prefatione ad editionem suam" (in James, vol. 1, 188).

4 I am grateful to Alexandra Gillespie and Simon Horobin for sharing their catalogue of Batman's hands, and to Simon Horobin for confirming in a private communication that Otho A.xii* is in Batman's italic hand. For discussions of Batman's collecting activities, see Parkes, "Stephen Batman's manuscripts." For his annotations in manuscripts and printed books, see Edwards and Horobin, "Further books annotated by Batman"; Horobin, "Stephen Batman and his manuscripts"; Edwards, "Editing and ideology"; and McLoughlin, "Magdalene College MS Pepys 2498."

5 Both manuscripts require a letter of introduction, but in May of 2013, only Otho A.xii came with the familiar bookmark requiring a reader to sit at the desks designated for consulting select material. For a discussion of the origin and evolution of the library's various manuscript classifications, see Prescott, "What's in a number?"

6 The transcripts are described in Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, li–lv. The other two transcripts are Cambridge, University Library, MS Additional 3825 and Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.7.25; the former is another sixteenth-century copy, and has, Stevenson suggests, "a close affinity with the British Museum transcript" (p. liv).

7 There have been three main catalogues of the Cotton manuscripts, in 1696, 1777, and 1802. The last, by Joseph Planta, was scanned and made part of the British Library's online manuscripts catalogue, thanks to a project undertaken by the University of Sheffield's Humanities Research Institute, in 1997 and 1998. At this time some entries were updated with information resulting from research that the British Library had undertaken from 1990 to 1997. Material added by Dr. Nigel Ramsay can be accessed at: www.hrionline.ac.uk/cotton/mss/oth1.htm; the only material added to the entry for Cotton Otho A.xii concerns the misattribution of one item to Roger of Ford. Until recently the British Library page for the Cotton manuscripts reads, "a new online catalogue of the Cotton manuscripts is in preparation, to be completed by the

end of 2009," www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelprestype/manuscripts/cottonmss/cottonmss.html. An update from November 24, 2014, on the *Catalogue of illuminated manuscripts* site, notes that "manuscripts in the Cotton collection are not yet included in the Catalogue" www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/welcome.htm, and the new archives and manuscripts catalogue currently lists the Cotton Charters and Rolls among the items not yet included in the online catalogue. For a stimulating recent account of the challenges posed by the new British Library manuscripts catalogue (as well as by the old, print-based versions), see Prescott, "The Function, structure and future of catalogues," a keynote lecture given at Leicester University on January 11, 2013, and posted at the author's blog, Digital riffs: http://digitalriffs.blogspot.co.uk/2013/01/the-function-structure-and-future-of.html.

8 Tite, *Catalogue of the manuscripts*, 10.

9 "Shelfmark" is not, Andrew Prescott suggests, the correct terminology for these familiar British Library designations, as they are, instead, acquisition numbers, each manuscript having in addition its own shelfmark, though these are not given in the catalogue. I would like to thank Andrew Prescott for sending me his unpublished checklist of the Cotton manuscript numbers, and hope that he will permit me to continue using the more familiar "shelfmark," for the sake of simplicity.

10 T. Smith, *Catalogus librorum*, 67.

11 Keynes, "Introduction 1998 reprint," xlix n. 1. Keynes is remarking on the absence of an entry for the transcription by Thomas Talbot of the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, and offers Otho A.xii* as another example of the omission of transcripts from the 1696 catalogue.

12 *Report from the committee.*

13 *Catalogue in the Cottonian library*, xiii. Andrew Prescott points out that the very confused state of the Cotton manuscripts after the fire, along with this suggestion, means we should be cautious about assuming the total destruction of Otho A.xii; he further argues that it is unlikely the sixteenth-century transcript would have been mistaken for the medieval original; see "Ghost of Asser," 266–7.

14 *Catalogue in the Cottonian library, deposited in the British Museum*, 365.

15 Reproduced in Tite, *Catalogue of the manuscripts*, in the pages interleaved in the 1732 report, next to the entry for Otho A.xii (no pagination). The italics are mine.

16 Prescott, "Ghost of Asser," 266. Prescott notes that a hand resembling that of David Casley, who in 1732 compiled the list of manuscripts lost after the fire, appears on the first folio of Otho A.xii*. The essay continues with a bravura discussion of the further trials and tribulations of the manuscript at the hands of its restorers. For a thorough discussion of the effects of the restoration campaigns, see his "Their present miserable state."

17 Though Simon Keynes notes that in the case of the Vitellius and Galba presses, it seems priority was given to saving the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century papers; see "Reconstruction of a Cottonian manuscript," 143 n. 14.

18 Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, liii. He suggests that the transcript might have been made for Lumley. It is considered of less value than is the transcript in CCCC 100 because it includes some of Parker's interpolations. Both Otho A.xii and Otho A.xii* are listed in the 1609 inventory of Lumley's books; see Jayne and Johnson, *Lumley library*, 121 (for item 948, "Asser Anglus, de vite Aelfredi regis Anglosaxonum, manuscript") and 124 (for item 968, "Asser de vita Aelfredi, regis Anglosaxonum, manuscript noviter"). Tite, *Early records*, confirms the Lumley–Royal Library route for the transcript. If Otho A.xii* is indeed in the hand of Stephen Batman, as suggested above, then we can add that it must have been produced no later than 1584, the year of Batman's death.

19 See Prescott, "Ghost of Asser," 265. The 1732 report begins, "Those Books with this *Mark before them, are lost, burnt, or intirely spoiled" (no pagination).

20 *Ibid.*, 255.

21 Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, xxiv, xxxiii, xxxvii, and xl.

22 *Ibid.*, xxxviii–xxxix.

23 In their catalogue of the Lumley Library, Jayne and Johnson, *Lumley library*, record, next to no. 949, "Probably Cotton Otho A XII*. Cross-reference to item 968" (121), and for no. 968 they write, "Cotton Otho A XII* probably Lumley" (124).

24 Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, liii–liv.

25 Gneuss, "Die Handschrift," 295.

26 *Ibid.*, 295–6.

27 In *Annales rerum gestarum*, 136–7. Wise credits Jacob Hill as the copyist of the specimen.

28 Eighteenth-century facsimiles are not always accurate in a photographic sense, and Stevenson does express some caution about relying too heavily on the Wise facsimile.

29 For a discussion of these leaves, see E. E. Barker, "Cottonian fragments," especially p. 50, where he notes of the Otho A.xii leaves that "It seems probable that these leaves of Æthelweard were bound up in the volume that is now denominated Otho A. xii. before they had been properly deciphered, under the erroneous impression that they formed part of Asser's work."

30 Gneuss, "Die Handschrift," 292 and 318.

31 Nasmith, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum*.

32 Online at: http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/manuscript_description_long_display.do?ms_no=43; the online version, as noted above, is taken directly from the James catalogue, where the manuscript is item 43, p. 87.

33 Page, *Matthew Parker and his books*, 8.

34 For a discussion of the fifteen Anglo-Saxon homiliaries used by Parker, including the sequence of ten manuscripts that included CCCC 178, see E. Butler, "Recollecting Alfredian English," 147.

35 Page, *Matthew Parker and his books*, 98.

36 For a discussion of the activities of Parker's circle in the recovery of Old English, see Graham, *Recovery of Old English*.

37 Parkes, "Archaizing hands," 124; he notes that "the emphasis was upon recognizable rather than exact reproductions of insular letter-shapes."

38 The term is from E. Butler, "Recollecting Alfredian English," 151; she notes that the activities of Parker's circle in designing Anglo-Saxon typeface based on manuscript models shows that they "behaved as members of a community of scribes."

39 A recent example of the persistence of this kind of separation may be found in the wonderful *Production and use of English manuscripts 1066 to 1220*, an online catalogue of manuscript descriptions and associated essays produced by Mary Swan, Elaine Treharne, Orietta da Rold, Jo Story, and Takako Kato, with funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Council. The project's goal was "to provide the first full and accurate records of the manuscripts, especially those containing literary materials written principally in English from c. 1060 to 1220" (www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/aboutus/aboutus.htm). The catalogue, because it seeks to describe the medieval manuscripts, does not include transcripts (or editions), but as noted, more than one medieval text depends in part or even entirely on transcripts from the early modern period.

40 This is folio ivr. Page notes that Parker "was an orderly man" who "liked a book to open and close neatly," *Matthew Parker and his books*, 47. He goes on to note that CCCC 163 also has a woodcut added to it, and suggests that "In these two cases Parker was apparently cutting up printed books which were no longer acceptable to the reformed church of the 1560s or 1570s, and so were expendable" (p. 51).

41 I would like to thank Suzanne Paul, formerly of the Parker Library and now at the CUL, for confirming this dating, as well as for her many patient responses to my questions about the history of subjects such as foliation and binding in the Parker Library.

42 James, *Descriptive catalogue*, vol. 1, 145.

43 Graham remarks that in rebinding, Parker's "guiding principle was similarity of physical dimensions rather than of content, and some unusual juxtapositions resulted": "Matthew Parker and his manuscripts," 329.

44 Dumville, "Sixteenth-century history," 433.

45 As noted above, the online remarks are derived from James, *Descriptive catalogue*; the quotation in question is found on p. 51 of the print volume.

46 Luard, *Matthaei Parisiensis*, vol. 1, xii.

47 Matthew Paris drew elephants more than once, basing his illustrations on an animal given to Henry III by Louis of France. Both the Parker Library and the British Library have featured the drawings on their blogs; see "Matthew Paris and the elephant at the Tower," http://theparkerlibrary.wordpress.com/2013/05/08/matthew-paris-and-the-elephant-at-the-tower/, and "The elephant at the Tower," http://britishlibrary.typepad.co.uk/digitisedmanuscripts/2013/05/the-elephant-at-the-tower.html. See also Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 212–16.

CHAPTER 7

# *Medieval manuscripts: media archaeology and the digital incunable*

*Martin K. Foys*

Today medieval manuscripts are privileged scholarly objects, typically the focus and product of careful curation, conservation, and critical reconstruction. Scholarship surrounding a manuscript is often inflected with a teleological desire for the artifact's original or near-original state. But medieval manuscripts also lead long lives, ones that continue to change and now range far beyond the original media form of a handwritten codex. The surviving physical manuscript only inconsistently records and retains the changes it has undergone over centuries, while the scholarship and scholarly resources that surround the manuscript have tended to do the same, selectively reproducing its matter through other media formats, first in print, and now increasingly in digital. The proliferation of digital resources has provided greater access to reproductions of manuscripts, as well as reference tools that enhance and expedite traditional scholarly study. Less obviously, the digitization of a manuscript also changes the work's identity and meaning by extending its media history into a new technological incarnation, a process that builds upon earlier remediations of the work in print and photography.[1] This deeper history of a manuscript – the way it transforms over time, and the technological media through which it is reproduced and studied – has rarely received much notice. As one example, the majority of this chapter surveys the long media history of the medieval manuscript known as London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius MS B.v (hereafter "Tiberius") from the eleventh century until the present day, over the course of three media ages: manuscript, print, and digital. The complicated and protean nature of Tiberius' form, content, and interpretation over time, along with the fractured way it now exists digitally, serves as a starting point for considering how future digital applications might enable a more capacious architecture for studying medieval manuscripts in both time and media.

When we now consider manuscripts like Tiberius, we do so in what should be thought of as the age of the digital incunable. As an early

printed book, the incunable was a media object that straddled the logics of two communicational technologies, evoking the form and function of the medieval manuscript even as it was produced through dramatically different mechanics. In the early modern period, the typographic book succeeded the handwritten one as the primary repository of historical, archival, cultural, and aesthetic data. Print consumed and digested the content, contour, and function of manuscripts to assume its earliest form, as the functional logic of the printed book gradually emerged into its own. Today, the development of digital resources for manuscript study finds itself in a similar position. The past half century witnessed a rapid growth of such resources, with multiple generations of tools and applications made available. The incunable presaged a massive technological shift for what books were and how they were used. The large-scale reproduction of medieval manuscripts as digital media has the potential to challenge and change how such works are studied and understood. But digital resources for manuscript study are still relatively immature, and largely have not realized their own methodological and technological logic. Standing where we are today, looking back at precedent media and forward to emergent ones, we have an opportunity to gauge what we privilege in the long lives of manuscripts, and why.

## COTTON TIBERIUS B.V: MEDIA HISTORY

Tiberius has had a complicated history, one that extends well beyond its identity as a handwritten codex produced in the early medieval period. The physical tome sitting in front of a reader in the Manuscript Reading Room of the British Library presents a singular object, but historically speaking there can be no one "Cotton Tiberius B.v." Tiberius today is a negotiation of temporal forms – a sorting through of material survival and this material's modification, documentary records, and multiple reproductions in multiple modes of media. Tiberius is thus an *artifact* in two ways. It is a human product from the past, but it is also a product in the present, still subject to alteration through external processes: the augmentation and modification of its original form, critical treatments in printed facsimiles and scholarship, and most recently, rearticulation in electronic and digital media. It is only with some difficulty that one can now rebuild precisely how Tiberius has continuously mutated in its material and then media history. This difficulty is a function both of physical artifact's limited ability to preserve evidence of its historical change, and of the incapacity of

earlier scholarly media and methods to adequately represent the chronological layers of the manuscript's past and present form.

Tiberius began as a manuscript produced sometime in the early to mid-eleventh century, perhaps at Winchester or Canterbury, though provenance and date remain tentative.[2] In its earliest form, Tiberius was a miscellany of temporal and spatial materials composed in Latin and Old English, accompanied in places by substantial pictorial materials. Most famously today, it contains the Cotton Map, the earliest surviving detailed and non-schematic medieval map of the world produced in England. Tiberius also includes three major picture cycles – one of three versions of the *Wonders of the East*, a calendar featuring the labors of the months, and a set of illustrations to accompany a version of Cicero's astronomical treatise *Aratea*. In its original form, the manuscript had at least two other maps (a Macrobean zonal map and a cosmography map, though the latter is now missing),[3] along with numerous regnal, papal, and episcopal lists, the late tenth-century pilgrimage itinerary of Archbishop Sigeric, several computistical items and treatises, and Priscian's *Periegesis*, a fifth-century geographic description of the world.[4] At least one other item, a copy of Hrabanus Maurus' *De laudibus sanctae crucis*, is now missing, and this work would have been a major and visually significant item in the collection. Post-Conquest, by the early twelfth century Tiberius was at Battle Abbey, where blank leaves at the beginning of the manuscript were filled with a set of local annals, a practice that continued well into the late twelfth century.[5] Likewise, blank leaves at the end of the work were filled with five twelfth-century metrical treatments of the life of St. Nicholas, in Latin.[6] The manuscript probably remained at Battle; other twelfth-century hands are evident in various places throughout the manuscript, and there is evidence of continued use through scribal additions into the fifteenth century.[7] After the dissolution of Battle in 1538, the volume became a part of the library of John Lumley, and was then acquired by Robert Cotton at some point between 1596 and 1621.[8]

During Cotton's possession, the manuscript underwent dramatic changes. Cotton appears to have rearranged the order of the Anglo-Saxon material, moving the *Wonders of the East* material from the front of the manuscript to the back,[9] and moved the world map from the end of the manuscript to before Priscian's *Periegesis*, perhaps because he thought it served to explicate the regions found within.[10] He also appears to have added three leaves of tenth- or eleventh-century Old English items, which themselves had been previously added to blank pages in eighth-century Gospel books.[11] Cotton removed the Anglo-Norman Battle Abbey annals

from the front of Tiberius, and added them to the end of the manuscript now known as London, British Library, Cotton Nero MS D.ii, though the Anglo-Norman St. Nicholas material remained. It is likely that Cotton also removed the version of Hrabanus Maurus' *De laudibus sanctae crucis*, which is listed in Lumley's catalogue, but not in Cotton's.[12] Most substantively, Cotton added an entire collection of fourteenth-century material to the manuscript, including copies of three apocryphal Old Testament commentaries falsely attributed to the twelfth-century Italian mystic Joachim of Fiore, as well as a fourteenth-century list of provincial bishops.[13] Cataloguing the manuscript in 1802, Planta implies a reason for Cotton's addition of the Joachite texts to Tiberius in his description of them as a *liber historicus et geographicus.*[14]

The manuscript was damaged in the 1731 Cotton Library fire, and was subsequently acquired by the British Museum. At some point after 1802, it was broken into two parts, with Anglo-Saxon material and the twelfth-century St. Nicholas poems becoming "part 1" and the fourteenth-century material becoming "part 2." In 1843, the pages of the manuscript were disbound, reset on modern pages, and rebound.[15] Part 1 was rebound to its present format by the British Museum in 1969, and part 2 in 1983 by the British Library.[16] In Tiberius, part 1, two blank, modern leaves have been inserted between folios 29 and 30 to represent the cosmographical map removed in the eighteenth century.[17] In the mid-twentieth century, parts of Tiberius were reproduced in a variety of photographic media; both parts 1 and 2 are on microfilm, and numerous slides were made in Ektachrome and/or 35 mm formats, focusing almost exclusively on pages containing pictorial images. Roughly 200 slides of Tiberius part 1 were made, highlighting the map and pictorial material. In contrast, only five slides of part 2 appear to have been made.[18] In 1983, a facsimile edition of part 1 was published, with black and white photography (and a few representative color images) and a detailed critical apparatus.[19] In the past ten years, a small sample (six) of pictorially oriented images have been digitized and made available via the British Library's Online Gallery,[20] though at the time this chapter is being written no complete digitization of either part of Tiberius appears to be available.[21]

## COTTON TIBERIUS B.V: MEDIA ARCHAEOLOGY

This summary of Tiberius' formal and media history is itself not easy to assemble; as the citations and footnotes above suggest, beginning to understand the "deep time" of Tiberius – the various stages of the

manuscript's content and physical state in time, and how these stages are mediated in later forms of technological representation – means carefully sifting through the various commentaries of the editors, codicologists, and cataloguers who have at one time or another treated parts of the manuscript's past. This earlier reconstructive work is foundational for understanding the unstable nature of Tiberius' existence over time, but it by no means provides comprehensive or uniform coverage of the manuscript's history. Scholarly assessments of Tiberius position its history as of secondary importance, a gateway through which we can return to the manuscript's earliest content. Such summaries weigh materials associated with the manuscript inversely according to their distance from the work's point of origin. Since the eleventh century, Tiberius has continued to be modified and reorganized; since the twentieth century, the manuscript has been mediated through a sequence of technological processes and media, as parchment was reproduced as print, photography, and microfilm, and now as digital content. In such a media ecology, Tiberius becomes a work that is now a *network*, located both within its various historical forms, and the subsequent media that continue to reproduce and transform it.[22]

Questions like how a work like Tiberius is transformed by its own media ecology is one of the concerns of the relatively new field of media archaeology. For media archaeologists, the investigation of media does not proceed as a "predictable and necessary advance from primitive to complex apparatus [but as] a dynamic cycle of erosion, deposition, consolidation, and uplifting before the erosion starts the cycle anew."[23] Rather than construct an object's history based on a simple chronological and narrative line of reconstruction, media archaeologists view the media object as a site of a constant and ongoing exchange between past and present forms of media. In such an approach, the ecology of a media object – the various technologies that contribute to its production, reproduction, and reception – need to be excavated *across time* to produce enhanced and alternative histories of the object. These histories in turn view past and present media forms as densely mediated subjects themselves, and not as singular objects restricted to their original medium, unaffected by subsequent modes of reproduction.[24] The more we study a manuscript, the more we turn it into other media to study it, and the more complicated its media history and ecology becomes. A brief example of a late fifteenth-century incunable of Petrus Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, now accessible in digital format through the Munich Digital Center, reveals how technological treatments of manuscripts align with critical notions of media archaeology, and how

digitization fundamentally alters an object's media history. The metadata provided with the incunable facsimile notes that the *Historia* was composed *c.*1173, the incunable was printed (from a late medieval manuscript exemplar) in Strasbourg by Johann Grüninger und Heinrich von Ingweiler on August 28, 1483, it was digitized almost 528 years later on August 1, 2011, its shelf number is 2 Inc.c.a. 1317 a, and its digital URN (Uniform Resource Name) is urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00061921-7.[25] This digital metadata relates more than a simple chronology of progressive and at times supersessionary steps in the production of a medieval and then an early modern text. Digitization increasingly has the potential to network moments in an artifact's history directly together through linked associations. This digital record of these materials does not reproduce all such moments (though they could theoretically do this, too), but it does transform them, presenting them together within the same medium, and significantly, linked within the same temporal moment. For most medieval manuscripts, though, transformative digital applications of media archaeology are still a long way off. For Tiberius, both printed and digital approaches to the manuscript neglect the majority of its long history and current media ecology.

## *Printed Tiberius*

The only substantive scholarly treatment of Tiberius remains the 1983 printed facsimile and edition by Patrick McGurk et al., which restricts its coverage to part 1 – that is, to the Anglo-Saxon material of the manuscript as originally constructed, together with the Anglo-Norman interpolated material (including material now in another manuscript, London, British Library, Cotton Nero MS D.ii).[26] McGurk and his collaborators' edition provides exactly what one expects from such scholarship: careful investigations of provenance, dating, scribal hands, and sources and analogues for each item of the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman material. Photographic reproduction is largely limited to black-and-white plates, as color plates were at the time considered a "lavish" feature too costly to produce.[27] As is common, the agenda of the edition is to reconstruct as best it can the early form of the medieval manuscript. To do so, the edition must in effect undo all of Robert Cotton's alterations to the manuscript, adding the Anglo-Norman additional material he removed (now in Cotton Nero D.ii), and removing the other Anglo-Saxon and fourteenth-century Joachite material he added. The other effect (and desire) of the printed facsimile is to break the long history of the manuscript in two, isolating the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman additions from later augmentations of the manuscript, which are treated as alien to it.

Such boundaries seem natural, especially to medievalists like me, accustomed to studying Anglo-Saxon material through printed editions exactly like this one. In this editorial view, the Anglo-Norman additions to Tiberius are organic additions by medieval scribes, while Robert Cotton's expansion is modern, artificial, and even illogical. The facsimile edition also omits without description the additional leaves containing Old English material included by Cotton (fols. 74–6), as well as the inserted blank leaves meant to represent the now missing cosmographical map. In reconstructing one particular version of Tiberius, the facsimile edition then absents other medieval and modern layers of Tiberius' history. In one case, where the facsimile does not produce the modern blank pages inserted between fols. 29 and 30 for Tiberius' missing cosmographical map, the representational indicator of absence is *itself* absented. Such choices derive from disciplinary desires to move as far back down the chronological line as possible, where the modern is expunged, all the while producing a printed and photographic facsimile, itself a quintessentially modern media object. The printed nature of this scholarly medium also plays a role, as more pages and especially more photographic plates equal more cost, further encouraging a temporally narrow, less-is-more view of such historical works.

The editorial process of winnowing the manuscript's complex historical and material identity may also exclude material once original to it. Lumley's catalogue notes that Tiberius earlier contained a version of Hrabanus Maurus' *De laudibus sanctae crucis*, missing from the manuscript when next catalogued in Cotton's Library.[28] *De laudibus sanctae crucis* is well known in other Anglo-Saxon manuscripts,[29] and was a visually sophisticated work that presented its text in the schematic form of images.[30] Its presence and place within Tiberius, where it would have been a fourth visual cycle in a manuscript famous for such items, should be integral to reconstructing the Anglo-Saxon context and content of Tiberius. While no facsimile reproduction of the missing work is possible, a *critical* reconstruction and discussion could easily be produced. But the physical absence of Hrabanus' work from Tiberius means it is now critically absent as well, and the facsimile edition of McGurk et al. does not treat it, only mentioning the missing work in passing. This layer, arguably a central one to Tiberius as originally composed and now valued, remains unexcavated – an alternative history of the manuscript, still hidden from view.

## *Digital Tiberius*

The manuscript's comparatively anemic digital existence says much about the relatively nascent state of digital manuscript studies. Three decades

into the British Library's scheme to digitize its holdings, no digital facsimile of Tiberius (either part) as yet exists – evidence of both the large number of medieval manuscripts that survive and that digitization is neither an easy, quick, nor inexpensive process.[31] But a few bits of Tiberius have been digitized and made publicly accessible, and these reveal much about what remains most privileged about medieval manuscripts. A search of the British Library's "Online Gallery" for Cotton Tiberius B.v returns nine results, all of which are individual folios of pictorial images, and all of which are from part 1. Four of the results are for different links to one item, the *mappamundi*, while two are for *Wonders of the East* illustrations, two are illustrations from the calendar cycle, and one is a pictorial image from the *Aratea*. No digital images of Tiberius part 2 are currently available. In print, McGurk lauds Tiberius part 1 as "long famous" for its picture cycles, so it is unsurprising that examples of each, plus the Cotton Map, were the first items to be digitized.[32] Typographic culture prizes visuality over all other forms of meaning, and what can be currently accessed digitally of Tiberius remediates the visually stimulating aspects of the manuscript prized in the printed facsimile. The digital images themselves can be interpreted within Tiberius' media ecology and history: divorced from the larger context of the manuscript, the available images realize little of the connective potential of the digital form. Instead of networking the content of the manuscript, this digital treatment fragments Tiberius, isolating parts of it from the context of the whole. No doubt this will change as eventually all of Tiberius likely will be digitized and made available. But for now it remains an instructive moment of remediation in Tiberius' own media history.

### *The Cotton Map: a mini-excavation*

As the most digitally popular part of Tiberius, the Cotton Map (Figure 7.1) stands as an apt metonym for the long media life of Tiberius, and for what shape its future might take. Medieval maps of the world like the Cotton Map traditionally layer time onto the places and spaces they represent. On a two-dimensional plane of geographic representation, *mappaemundi* contain spans of centuries, flattened out across continents, cities, peoples, rivers, mountains, and wonders. As media, such maps encode diachronic information synchronically as an enfolding and contemporary moment of cultural expression – a move that recalls the similar goal of media archaeology. I have elsewhere critically treated this map at length, and in relation to New Media theory, exploring how the map functions

Figure 7.1. The Cotton Map (British Library MS Cotton Tiberius B.v, Part 1, fol. 56v). [Public domain]

as a form of virtual reality.[33] When I returned to Tiberius to think about its long media history, I was reminded of just how much I had originally struggled to understand the map's place within the manuscript, first in studying its treatment within McGurk's edition and then later working with the surviving manuscript itself. The map's foliation number is 56v, and in the manuscript it sensibly appears before folio 57, the start

of Priscian's *Periegesis*. As a graduate student, I was initially befuddled by the fact that McGurk's edition printed the map as the very last page of facsimile plates, between folios 73 and 77. The confusion was that of inexperience; I was unfamiliar then with the ways Robert Cotton had reorganized and changed the manuscript, and McGurk's and other editors' careful scholarship that correctly relocated the map as originally the final item in the Anglo-Saxon manuscript.[34] But my confusion also derived from a fundamental conditioning of print culture about the function of pagination. A page number tells a reader where to find a page – this is regarded more or less as inviolate, a foundation of referential practice to assure the stable location of information within the physical progression of a book. But paging through parts of the Tiberius part 1 facsimile is not the same as paging through the surviving manuscript, and can be a disorienting experience as one turns through pagination series like 87–88–2–3, or 72–73–55–56–77. Between surviving manuscript and printed facsimile, page numbers go out of order, and the breakdown of pagination is an artifact of Tiberius' own unstable form over its history. Page-wise, now, the Cotton Map no longer has one location in Tiberius, but two.

That the Cotton Map now exists in two Tiberius locations simultaneously is ironically appropriate, given that maps in the modern and popular imagination are designed to fix locations to singular points. But a map (medieval or modern) is not the reality of physical geography, but its representation, and in that representation, multiple realities are inevitable. On the Cotton Map, numerous geographic entities appear twice. Some doubling, as in the cases of two incidences of the Taurian mountain range, or the split depiction of the Nile River, happens because of attempts to present the multiple incidences of these geographic features that occur in the map's Orosian source text.[35] The reasons for other repetitions are less clear, as with the two occurrences of the city of Pentapolis in two different regions, or similar duplications of Greater Carthage and the otherwise unidentified and mysterious "Aniclea," or of the doubling of two different tribes of Israel (Zebulon and Nephthali), or of the Ethiopians of Libya. Perhaps such confusion arises in the face of unfamiliar and remote geography, or from attempting to accommodate conflicting textual traditions as to the location of an item, or, in the case of the tribes of Israel, the medieval tradition of cartographically representing the migration camps of these tribes.[36] But for modern viewers, recognition of the same place in different spaces on a map remains a dissonant, if now instructive, moment. Like pages out of order, these doublings resist a habituated and modern desire for a singular space of location, for information to live where we

expect it to live. It encapsulates the temporal condition of the Tiberius manuscript, which today survives in one form, but must be understood to have existed in many.

In editing the map, McGurk takes pains to measure it against both physical topography and toponymic transmission, identifying distortion, disproportion, and disruption in the case of the former, and "carelessness and contamination," "imperfections," faulty copying, misinformation, and bad spelling in the case of the latter.[37] McGurk's editorial judgments drawn from such comparative metrics of purity differ sharply from the only other substantive editorial treatment of the map, by Konrad Miller in the late nineteenth century.[38] McGurk edits the map as an individual document, judging its quality on a metric of faithfulness to putative sources or analogues. In contrast, Miller edits the map within the larger context of all surviving medieval maps and related sources, providing more neutral assessments (e.g., terming alternative inscriptions "original" as opposed to poorly spelled).[39] To be sure, Miller was also concerned with idealized source forms – the final volume of his six-volume series is dedicated to hypothetical reconstructions of classical maps imagined as sources for medieval ones.[40] But in the printed pages of his editions, Miller interprets the information on the maps he studies as part of a complexly related *network*, editing a map's content in order to link it to the content of other premodern maps and geographic texts (Figure 7.2). In effect, Miller thought the best way to edit a medieval map was to build a linked database for its content. Only the limitations of the printed medium, which resists the easy linking of related content, prevented him from doing so effectively.

Miller's nineteenth-century typographic networks prefigure John Unsworth's twenty-first-century model for how to develop digital humanities resources. Unsworth identifies "functions that could be the basis for a manageable but also useful tool-building enterprise in humanities computing," arguing that digital resources need to be designed to allow scholars to discover, annotate, compare, refer, sample, illustrate, and represent research information.[41] On the face of it, this list contains nothing surprising for scholars. The original Anglo-Saxon goals of the Tiberius manuscript might likewise be described in these terms. But unlike the earlier media forms of manuscript and typography, digital media now have the capacity to realize networks of visual, linked, and annotated data on vastly larger scales than previously possible, and make the interrelations of these data instantaneous and transparent. Digital resources could, of course, better realize Konrad Miller's desire for a linked database of medieval cartography, or chart connections between the bewildering array of materials

**3. Italien:**

*Luna* (falsch Curia C), ebs. Be, Hf, Eb.
*Luca,* ebs. Hf, It, Ta, Ra, Eb (Lucca).
*Roma,* Or.
*Ra|ve|n|na* (Ravena C), a. a. K.
*Salerna* (Salonna C), Be, Hf, Eb, Ho (-no).
*Pauia,* ebs. Be, Papia Hf, Eb, Ra.
*Verona,* ebs. Hf, Eb, Ho.

**4. Balkan und südliche Donauländer:**

*Histria,* ebs. Or.
*Dardania,* ebs. Or.
*Dalmatia,* ebs. Or.
*Macedonia, Attica* und *Athenas,* ebs. Or.
*Danubius fluvius* (an falscher Stelle eingeschrieben), ebs. Or; cf. Ml und Is.
*Pannonia,* ebs. Or und
*Hunorum gens,* Huni Lb, Adam, Uni Ra, Hungari Hf, -ia Ps, Eb.
*Tracia,* Thracia Or mit
*Constantinopolim,* -is Or.
*Mesina,* statt Moesia Or.

**5. Norden:**

*Norweci* (vor diesem Worte ist nero — falscher Anfang — gestrichen, C liest Neronorroen), im Ms. p. 110: Norwacia und Noruacia; Noreya Hn, Hf, Norwegia Ps, Lb, Rf, Adam. Norwegen.
*Slesvic* (Slespie C), ebs. Adam, Schleswig, auf keiner Karte.
*Sclavi,* ebs. Hf, Lb, Adam; die Slaven.
*Dacia ubi et Gothia* (Dania - - - C), ebs. Or; Daci — Gothi Adam.
*Bulgarii* (falsch Bolgam C), ebs. Hf, Ra. Eb, Rf.
*Scithia* mit
*Naper fluu*[illegible] (falsch Naperfida C), Danapris Ra, Danaper Hf; j. Dniepr, und
*fluvius Ypanis,* Hypanis Ml, Ho; j. Bug oder Kuban.
*Montes Riphei* (falsch Ripam C), Or.

**6. Inseln:**

*Tylen,* Thyle Or.
*Hibernia,* ebs. Or mit
*Arama* (hinten ein Schnörkel, C las Arthunmorus), Arhmata Hf, sonst Armaca, Armagh.
*Brittannia,* ebs. Or (-ita-), mit
*Cantia,* das Land von Kent (C).
*Vin|toni|a,* Wintona Hf, j. Winchester.
*Lundona.*
*Marinus portus* (Morenpergas C).
*Camri,* die Cambri d. i. die Gälen.
*Orcades insule,* ebs. Or; Adam oft.
*Island,* ebs. Hn, Hf, Eb (-ia), Adam; mit
*Scri|defi|nn|as* (Islano und Sensefimius C), ebs. Alfred, Adam (Scritefinni), Scirdifrini Ra; Procop.

**In Asien.**

**1. Scythien:**

*Tanais fluvius* (Tanae C), ebs. Or; j. Don.
*Meotides paludes,* ebs. Or.
*Griphorum gens,* Griphi Is; Griphae gentes Eb, Aeth.
*Turchi,* ebs. auf Terraconta Hf, Eb. Die Türken.
*Gog et Magog,* ebs. Eb, Hi, Hn.
*Mare Caspium,* ebs. Or.
*Flumen*; Or hat an dieser Stelle fl. Boreus und darüber den Ottorogorra, welcher auch hier gezeichnet ist, aber ohne Namen.
*Gentes XLIII,* 42 Or.
*Boreani* (gentes 43 ad Boream C); promontorium Boreum und fl. Boreus Or.
*Hic abundant leones.* Die Borgia-Karte hat in Albania dasselbe Bild: Albania habet canes fortiores leonibus. „Huius terrae canes tam ingentes sunt, ut . . - leones perimant." Be, Is, Eb.
*Taurini montes,* wohl aus Or, wo der grosse Taurus in viele Einzelgebirge zerlegt ist.
*Colchorum provincia,* Colchi Or, a. a. K.
*Albanorum regio,* Albani a. a. K., gentes 34 — Or.
*Mons;* Mons Caucasus an dieser Stelle Or, Ra, Ml, Dm.
*Armenia,* ebs. Or, mit
*Montes Armenie,* ebs. Hf, Hi 2.
*Arca Noe,* Hi, Is, Eb, Hf, Ps.
*Decusa civitas* (Docusa C, Docyla Sant.), ebs. Hi, Hf, Dagusa civitas Or 9.
*Hiberia,* Or und a

Figure 7.2. Example of Konrad Miller's "database" editing of the Cotton Map, with reference to content in other maps and texts; from *Mappaemundi: die ältesten Weltkarten*, vol. III, 34.

found within (both parts of) Tiberius. More than this, digital media also have the potential to better realize the long media history of a medieval manuscript, producing a representational archive of versions of the object's content and form across time and media, where specific moments of any of these versions may be targeted and linked to related moments in similar archives of other historical objects.

## DIGITAL RESOURCES TODAY AND THE FUTURE OF MANUSCRIPT STUDY

To paraphrase Marshall McLuhan, we are as far into digital manuscript studies as the Elizabethans were into the age of print.[42] With particular reference to Cotton Tiberius B.v, we can see how early and incunabular this time is. Tiberius barely exists digitally, and what of it that does suggests that the manuscript should be treasured as a storehouse of individual visual images – a valuation reminiscent of the hyper-visuality promoted by typographic culture. We do not, cannot, yet know what forms of digital resources will arise, succeed, and change the way we study and understand written media of the pre-print era. But we can build upon an awareness of this incunabular moment, fashioning media resources that allow us to augment older methods of study while imagining new logics of scholarly practice. The earliest applications of digital resources for manuscript study encouraged the quantification and fragmentation of manuscripts and their contents, even as they sought to link and use this material in new ways. Until very recently a digital project that used manuscripts was invariably one that sought to take apart a manuscript's content in order to integrate it into a database that comprehensively covered a particular subject. Database projects are of immense value, and today continue to range across medieval disciplines and topics, including – to give only a very small sample from just the Anglo-Saxon period – linguistic (Dictionary of Old English), historical (Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England), literary (Fontes Anglo-Saxonici), artistic (Corpus of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture), paleographical (DigiPal), or manuscript (The production and use of English manuscripts, 1066–1220).[43] As early efforts in the age of the digital incunable, these projects largely remediate the goals of older print-based scholarship by continuing (if enhancing) earlier methodologies. In databases, the textual content of manuscripts is transcribed, described, and coded at granular levels of letter, word, or phrase, while pictorial content, especially in the earliest projects, is often divorced from larger contexts of page and/or surrounding textual or visual material.[44]

As such database initiatives continued to develop, the manuscript as an object of digital study in its own right slowly emerged. In the 1990s, encoding schemes began to attempt comprehensive digital transcriptions of individual manuscripts' contents. These efforts first focused on standard graphic markup language (SGML) and then the more flexible XML standard (leading to standards like the Textual Encoding Initiative [TEI]), and hold as the central goal the translation of the physical, written, and to some degree artistic content of manuscripts into machine-readable computer code.[45] In the decade after 2000, a second generation of digitization gained momentum, which sought to make available online large numbers of digital facsimiles of medieval manuscripts. These ambitious repository schemes (e.g., eCodices and Parker on the web, to name two of many) benefited from increasingly less expensive and more efficient ways to digitally scan written material.[46] Currently thousands of medieval manuscripts in hundreds of institutions have been digitized, with ongoing efforts accelerating and proliferating at a rapid rate.[47] Unlike markup initiatives, large-scale digitization projects primarily present digital content of manuscripts as image content only, with a minimum of metadata associated with each codex and folio.

Most early digital resources tended to suffer from two limitations: taxonomic rigidity and siloing. In the former case, the desire to systematically tag manuscript content as machine-readable code ran headlong into the constraints of tagging taxonomies, which had developed hierarchically in early markup schemes (e.g., SGML and then set XML schema such as TEI), and restricted the way manuscript content could be digitally described.[48] A quick example from my own early digital scholarship can serve as an historical example. Figure 7.3 shows an original working prototype, *c.*2007, for digitally editing medieval maps. At the time I and my technical collaborators still thought the key to digitally editing the map was to develop a fixed set of categories of meaning to describe its content. Such a belief derives from common metadata models that hold that knowledge is best organized under set taxonomies – remediating models ultimately descended from Enlightenment-era epistemology.[49] Working with the messy medieval epistemes of the Cotton Map quickly revealed how naïve such an approach was.[50] The second limitation, siloing, was correspondingly pervasive among primary source digitization initiatives, where material was digitized and made accessible, but could not be linked to data within other related resources.[51] Like a printed book, a siloed digital resource could contain great amounts of valuable information, but the data remained fixed and closed within the resource. In

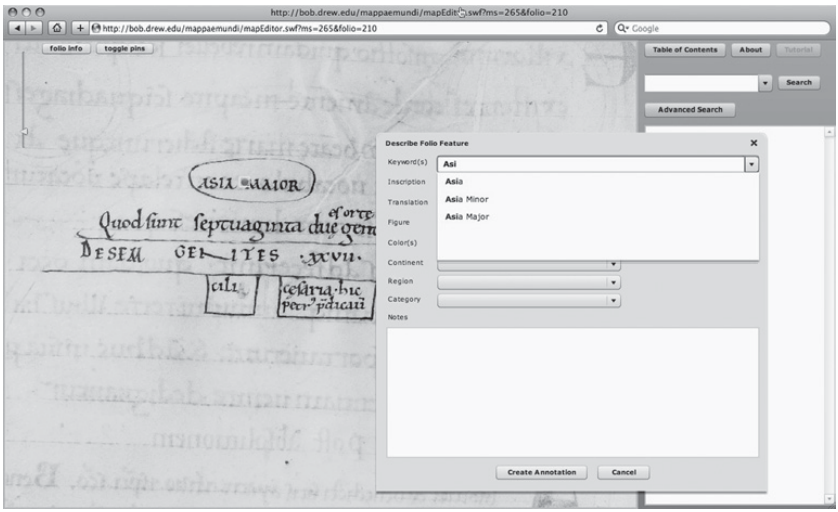



Figure 7.3. The early, "fixed taxonomy" scheme for digitally encoding medieval maps data, by Martin Foys and Shannon Bradshaw.

effect, siloing and taxonomic rigidity produced digital manuscript material that was functionally similar to older typographic antecedents, albeit with increased access and enhanced image quality.

In the past few years, these first two generations of resources have given way to a new understanding that existing and developing digital resources must be able to *interoperate*, that is, they must be open in their data and connect into larger networks of related resources.[52] The growth of alternative database protocols that encourage such semantic flexibility of data taxonomies and relations, such as the RDF Triple model, has pointed the way to how new digital metadata associated with individual manuscripts may be designed to be easily shared with other resources.[53] A significant initiative is the ongoing development of the Open Annotation Collaboration (OAC) data model, which promises to radically change the way in which scholars may in the first instance interact with and produce scholarly data. OAC is a protocol to standardize the way a range of digital media objects (including text, image, audio, and video) may be targeted and annotated. With OAC, any part or feature of a digitized medieval manuscript could be selected, tagged with information, and then linked to other areas of the same digital manuscript, other digital manuscripts, existing online scholarly resources, and even sections of other forms of

digital media.[54] Through such platforms, it is possible to transform the increasing numbers of digital manuscripts online into truly open and networked entities, where manuscripts are available as "complete" documents in their own right, but also as partitive data for use in online databases and scholarship.[55]

In his assessment of how New Media may be better employed to study the past, Will Straw calls for "the passage of time to be noted in deeply sedimented and richly resonating clusters of objects," and argues that "we need large inventories of such objects in order that they may knit together within densely intertextual packages."[56] Straw's vision unites the theoretical tenets of media archaeology with the practical potential of digital resources, and is what manuscript studies in the digital age requires. At some point in the future, Cotton Tiberius B.v (both parts) will be digitized and accessible, but what then for this complex media object? The next generation of digital resources needs to accommodate new ways to inventory medieval manuscripts in ways Straw suggests – both as temporally thick collections of their own content, changing over time, and as networked to other objects, medieval or otherwise, that help explain their form, function, and meaning. We are just beginning to see the opening of digital manuscript data in this fashion. Monumenta Informatik is a pioneering project that works with the freely available digital medieval manuscript collections of eCodices to create online synoptic presentations of manuscripts and editions of the texts they contain.[57] Users can locate a specific passage from a text (e.g., Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos*) and then call up the folios of multiple manuscript witnesses of this text (for Orosius, five manuscripts may be currently consulted in this fashion; see Figure 7.4). Other projects are beginning to take advantage of the recent interoperability of digital manuscript repositories (which themselves are beginning to be federated and consumed by centralizing resources such as Stanford University Library's Digital Medieval Manuscript initiatives), allowing individual users to access and then create customized sets of annotations and linked data for personal, collaborative, or institutional use.[58] Representative examples of such tools in development currently include: SharedCanvas (for annotation scholarship distributed across multiple users and/or variant images of the same manuscript folio), T-Pen (for generating and exporting transcriptions of digital manuscripts hosted by a variety of repositories), and the DM Project (for creating annotations of individual details of digital manuscript and texts, linking them across manuscript collections, and exporting the linked data for online publication).[59]

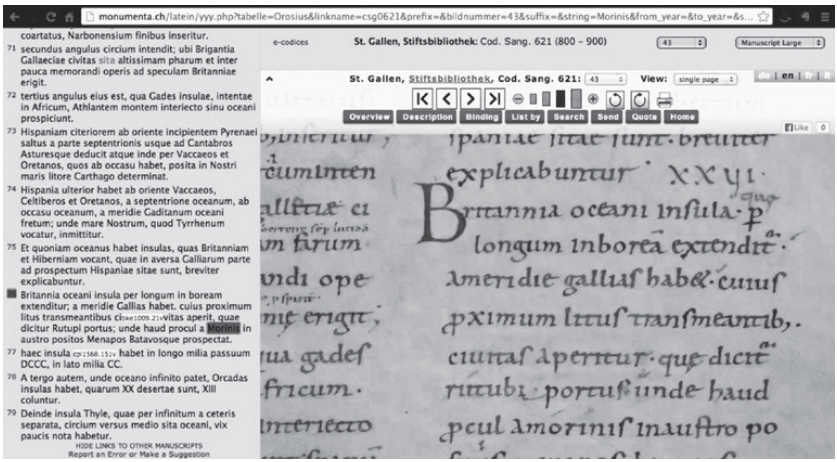



Figure 7.4. Synoptic linking of manuscript data to digital manuscript images in the Monumenta.ch resource.

Today, these tools are rudimentary in execution, but still inspiring for how the landscape of manuscript studies might be transformed. At the British Museum, for example, the Research Space initiative is working to build a semantic web for cultural heritage objects, where large collections can be dynamically managed by users and opened to collaborative, annotative work. And most recently, the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies has developed a new tool for digital collation that in time could take a manuscript like Tiberius and enable a virtual reconstruction of all of the phases of its long history.[60] Projects are beginning to take medieval manuscripts out of their usual environments. The Visionary Cross Project is creating a digital framework for the study of textually related but materially disparate Anglo-Saxon objects, the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses (stone sculpture), the Brussels Reliquary (portable metal shrine), and *The dream of the rood* and *Elene* (poems of the Vercelli Manuscript, themselves being digitized as part of the Digital Vercelli Book project).[61] Using both traditional database technologies as well as videogame development, the Visionary Cross Project imagines a digital environment that allows scholars and students to study these works individually and at great depth and detail, but also as part of a larger cultural and aesthetic network. In manuscript study and elsewhere, such distributive scholarship may eventually move the nature of manuscript research out of older models of static, individual publications and into collaborative and ongoing forms of work directly and continuously

linked to the online repositories of materials used. Whether such digital initiatives now underway will come to any kind of meaningful and long-standing fruition is impossible to predict. Many will be cut short by the vicissitudes of institutional funding, staffing, time, and the still transient nature of digital materials and platforms. If the printed medium is historically marked by a formal stability, its digital counterpart is defined by the ease with which it may change. The challenges facing large-scale data aggregation and alignment, linked resources and standardization, with the persistence of online locations for digital materials remain daunting. Access to materials, and the tight grip copyright laws (themselves an artifact from an earlier media age) have on intellectual and historical material remain massive obstacles to truly open and distributed digital scholarship.[62] Silos and data fragmentation, at least for the foreseeable future, will continue to exist. But anybody who studies medieval manuscripts today is by default also a digital medievalist, whose work will be influenced by the technologies and media utilized, and this will continue as digital manuscript study slowly emerges from its incunabular form.

Manuscripts like Tiberius developed as collections of information – they evolved out of specific technologies and practices to be as effective containers of information as their users required, and then changed as their users changed. We are used to taking a medieval manuscript and describing its history and ecology in words (as I have done here). But manuscript study has never been able to adequately accommodate the deep time of manuscripts like Tiberius, the variable states and dense media ecologies that define its continuing life and use over time. We now have the technological capacity to imagine, and to strive for, digital architectures that can represent a manuscript's deep time, formal iterations, and shifting contents, and integrate these aspects in a network of past, present, and future scholarship. Like an early printed book, our incunabular desires for digital manuscript study have yet to realize their own efficient limits.

## NOTES

1 For an introduction to the concept of remediation, where newer media forms can first adapt the logic and function of older ones before developing their own, see Bolter and Grusin, *Remediation: understanding new media*.

2 McGurk et al., *Anglo-Saxon illustrated miscellany*, 109; Ker, *Catalogue of manuscripts*, 33–4.

3 T. Smith, *Catalogus librorum*, 22–3, records the map; Planta, *Catalogue of the manuscripts*, 36, notes its absence with the description "male manu abscissa" ("unfortunately torn out by hand").

4 McGurk et al., *Anglo-Saxon illustrated miscellany*, provides overviews of all surviving items from the original composition.
5 Dumville, "Note on the post-conquest additions."
6 *Ibid*.
7 McGurk et al., *Anglo-Saxon illustrated miscellany*, 39.
8 Jayne and Johnson, *Lumley library*, item 1295; Tite, *Early records*, 107.
9 Tite, *Early records*, 107; Brown, "Sir Robert Cotton," 292.
10 T. Smith, *Catalogus librorum*, 22–3, describes the map as "praefigitur Liber Periegesi," but the opposite side of the map's folio (now 56r) contains sections of the twelfth-century St. Nicholas additions, in sequence with other pages at the end of the manuscript.
11 See Ker, *Catalogue of manuscripts*, 256–7 for folio 75, 35–6 for folios 74 and 76. Additions include manumissions, land grants, and notes of assembly.
12 *Ibid*., 256.
13 Kerby-Fulton, "English Joachite manuscripts," 110 and n. 43.
14 Planta, *Catalogue of the manuscripts*, 36.
15 McGurk et al., *Anglo-Saxon illustrated miscellany*, 27.
16 Details from the British Library's On-line Archives and Manuscripts record, found by searching for "Cotton MS Tiberius B V": http://searcharchives.bl.uk/.
17 McGurk et al., *Anglo-Saxon illustrated miscellany*, 28.
18 British Library Manuscript Reading Room manuscript card catalogue, entries for "Cotton Tiberius B. V."
19 McGurk et al., *Anglo-Saxon illustrated miscellany*.
20 British Library, On-line Gallery: www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/, search on "Cotton Tiberius B.v."
21 Neither part of the manuscript is listed in the 2013 BL medieval and earlier digitised manuscripts master list: http://britishlibrary.typepad.co.uk/digitised-manuscripts/2013/07/fancy-a-giant-list-of-digitised-manuscript-hyperlinks.html.
22 For a basic introduction the concept of media ecology, and how it challenges the notion of interpreting the singular object, see Strate, "Media ecology review."
23 Zielinski, *Deep time of the media*, 3–4.
24 For a developed exploration of media archaeology, see Parikka, *What is media archaeology?*, esp. 5–16.
25 http://bildsuche.digitale-sammlungen.de/?c=viewer&bandnummer=bsb00061921&pimage=00007&v=pdf&einzelsegmentsuche=&mehrsegmentsuche; see also the British Library's Incunabula Short Title Catalogue, available at: http://istc.bl.uk/search/search.html?operation=record&rsid=256955&q=4.
26 For the additional material in Cotton Nero MS D.ii, see Ker, *Catalogue of manuscripts*, 255.
27 McGurk et al., *Anglo-Saxon illustrated miscellany*, 9.
28 Ker, *Catalogue of manuscripts*, 256.
29 Deshman, *Eye and mind*, 133.

30 Lumley describes the work in Tiberius as "cum pulchris variarum crucium formis"; Jayne and Johnson, *Lumley library*, 107.
31 For a sense of scope and cost of large-scale digitization projects, including manuscripts, see the British Library's own report, "Digitisation Strategy 2008–2011": www.bl.uk/aboutus/stratpolprog/digi/digitisation/digistrategy/.
32 McGurk et al., *Anglo-Saxon illustrated miscellany*, 15.
33 Foys, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon*, 110–58.
34 McGurk et al., *Anglo-Saxon illustrated miscellany*, 24 and 30.
35 Foys, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon*, 122–4. See also Crawford, "Some medieval theories."
36 O'Loughlin, "Map and text."
37 McGurk et al., *Anglo-Saxon illustrated miscellany*, 85.
38 Miller, *Mappaemundi*, vol. III, 31–7.
39 *Ibid.*, 35.
40 *Ibid.*, vol. VI, figs. 28–30, pl. III, 61–8.
41 Unsworth, "Scholarly primitives."
42 McLuhan, *Understanding media*, iv.
43 Dictionary of Old English: http://www..doe.utoronto.ca/; Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England: www..pase.ac.uk/; Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/; Corpus of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture: www..ascorpus.ac.uk/; DigiPal: www..digipal.eu/; The production and use of English manuscripts, 1066–1220: www..le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/.
44 In a related mode, see also Treharne, "Fleshing out the text," who considers how the digitization of manuscripts fragments texts through the elision of their physical attributes and hapticity.
45 See "A TEI-based tag set for manuscript transcription": www.tei-c.org/Support/Learn/dsguide1.html; for a representative sample of such work, see Burnard, Gartner, and Kidd, "The cataloguing of western medieval manuscripts in the Bodleian Library": http://users.ox.ac.uk/~lou/wip/MS/.
46 eCodices (www.e-codices.unifr.ch/), for example, currently contains full digital facsimiles of 981 manuscripts from 42 different libraries, while the Parker on the Web (http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/) project digitized 559 manuscripts – almost the entire collection – of Parker Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
47 So much so, that UCLA's federated Catalogue of Digitized Medieval Manuscripts (http://manuscripts.cmrs.ucla.edu/index.php), which began in 2005 and lists 3,129 manuscripts from 139 institutions, has at the time of this writing ceased cataloguing, as "institutions large and small have continued to digitize manuscripts at an ever-quickening pace." For a current resource dedicated to tracking libraries that have digitized their manuscripts, see DMMmaps: http://digitizedmedievalmanuscripts.org/.
48 For a current overview of such issues in TEI, see Burghart and Rehbein, "The present and future of the TEI community for manuscript encoding": http://jtei.revues.org/372, esp. section 3.4.

49 For a fuller treatment of this early work, see Foys and Bradshaw, "Developing digital *mappaemundi*": www.digitalmedievalist.org/journal/7/foys/.
50 For analogous issues, see Altschul's summary of "Portrayals of difference," her attempt to study race through digital resources of manuscripts: http://lib.stanford.edu/digital-manuscript-uses-and-interoperation-public-site/altschul-summary.
51 Zorich, *A survey of digital humanities centers in the United States*, www.clir.org/pubs/reports/pub143/reports/pub143/pub143.pdf, esp. 41–2.
52 "Interoperation for digital medieval manuscripts": http://lib.stanford.edu/dmm.
53 RDFs (Resource Description Frameworks) are models for describing and categorizing data and what it relates to based on a grammatical structure of subject-predicate-object: www.w3.org/TR/rdf-concepts/.
54 Open Annotation Collaboration: www.openannotation.org/.
55 See, however, Treharne, "Fleshing out the text," for a healthy reminder that digital facsimiles cannot reproduce all aspects of a medieval manuscript, especially their physical qualities.
56 Straw, "Embedded memories," 14.
57 Monumenta Informatik: http://monumenta.ch/.
58 "Interoperation for digital medieval manuscripts": http://lib.stanford.edu/dmm.
59 SharedCanvas: www.shared-canvas.org/; "T-Pen: transcription for paleographical and editorial notation": http://t-pen.org/TPEN/; DM Project: http://schoenberginstitute.org/dm-tools-for-digital-annotation-and-linking/.
60 "ResearchSpace – a digital Wunderkammer": www.researchspace.org/; "The Manuscript Collation Project" (in development): http://dorpdev.library.upenn.edu/collation.
61 The Visionary Cross Project: http://visionarycross.org/; Digital Vercelli Book: http://islp.di.unipi.it/bifrost/vbd/dvb.html. Such work also has recent analogues in critical scholarship: Chaganti, "Vestigial signs," theorizes a media ecology surrounding the poem and these objects that explains their relationship in ways beyond shared textuality.
62 Noel, "Parchment and pixel": www.willnoel.com/2012/06/my-ted-talk-on-archimedes-and-open-data.html; cf. Schmidt, "Digital history and the copyright black hole": http://sappingattention.blogspot.com/2011/01/digital-history-and-copyright-black.html.

CHAPTER 8

# *The circulation of texts in manuscript culture*

*Pascale Bourgain*

From its conception in the author's mind to its eventual use by readers, a text goes through many steps. Our examination of this process will consider the chances of a text being converted to the written form, its radius of influence, potential impact, the proliferation and circulation of copies, and the means by which authors can facilitate the diffusion of their work – in other words, what critical analysis can reveal about their history, and what the success of certain texts over others teaches us about intellectual life at the time.

## STATIONARY AND TRAVELING TEXTS

The circulation of texts did not directly coincide with the circulation of books. Even in manuscript culture, some texts circulated by way of memory; others were disseminated through writing, albeit with some overlap. Prayers were heard and repeated by the illiterate, tales retold, poems committed to memory. The first epics of antiquity, whether passed down by the Greeks, the Celts, or the Hindus, as with the *chansons de geste*, could be transmitted without the use of writing, despite their considerable length. Royal orders, sent out in written form at this time, were read aloud by the royal heralds, and spread through word of mouth among the illiterate, whether or not they had actually seen the document that they regarded as an expression of sovereign authority. Similarly, news was disseminated by means of oral communication, occasionally taking the form of songs to facilitate retention. At times the written version already existed, its transmission sometimes taking the form of oral communication, while in other cases, the inception or recitation of the text could predate the written version, for example, in its mode of composition (e.g., in the mind) or transmission (e.g., oral circulation). Without lingering on the relationship between the spoken and the written, it is important to note that a text's existence does not depend on its written

version, so long as it exists in some form: texts survived through transmission by jongleurs, by storytellers relating the lives of the saints, and by preachers who memorized anecdotes. With poetic texts as well, itinerant poets and reciters relied on memory rather than books, since the latter could easily be stolen, thus robbing these men of the exclusivity of their repertoire.

In cases in which texts were long and difficult to memorize (notably with works of prose), writing became a necessary alternative. But the nature of texts is such that not all of them enter into circulation. Transcribing a text, for instance, did not guarantee wide diffusion; many written texts never circulated at all. Even if one disregards texts that were either of no use or of little prestige (notes, letters – only some of which were preserved – memoirs, and essentially any texts whose value was determined by circumstance) there are still many important works of which we know only the titles, some by prestigious authors such as the Church Fathers. The whole corpus of Eble de Ventadour, considered to be the leader of the troubadours of his generation, was most likely lost before the written transmission of texts was commonplace. Also, there are many poems whose incipits are referenced, but which are otherwise lost. Their survival depended on both the circumstances of their transcription and preservation, and the chances of survival were dramatically different depending on the type of text and its function. Certainly, texts designated for mainstream consumption or that conformed to the traditional book format must have circulated in a much higher proportion than we can presently determine, since only traces of their travels have been left behind.

There are also significant works that were not conceived for reproduction, either because of their size (as with Origen's *Hexapla* and Matthew Paris's *Chronica maior*), or because they were simply too sophisticated to recreate, the creator having anticipated only a single copy. Such was the case with Lambert of Saint-Omer's *Liber floridus* and Herrade of Lansberg's *Hortus deliciarum*, image-books of a personal nature. Both were created for a particular community without the intention of widespread diffusion, in contrast to the image-texts of figurative poetry, such as Rabanus Maurus' *De laudibus sanctae crucis*. One copy sufficed in these cases, so long as it was conveniently located. In antiquity, official texts promulgated by the political authorities and of local interest were posted on metal or stone. Though the practice did not disappear altogether, it would largely be replaced by the preservation of written texts in archives. Even in these cases, one copy was sufficient, so long as one could refer to it when needed (as a kind of insurance policy, as well as for convenience,

a second copy was often preserved in a cartulary, starting somewhere between the tenth and eleventh centuries).[1] One could also copy texts inscribed on walls from which a visitor could memorize or transcribe it for later use. Epitaphs could be reproduced far from their original location; either committed to memory or copied, they might be duplicated as an independent work, or inserted into an historical document, thus entering into circulation. There are even some collections of inscriptions dating back to the medieval period.[2]

## INFLUENCE OF EACH EXEMPLAR

Consequently, the existence of only a single manuscript did not necessarily indicate that the text in question was insignificant. If a text did not spread on its own, readers might seek it out (as with the *Hexapla* that St. Jerome and so many others consulted in Caesarea).[3] Even a single manuscript could rouse the admiration of a large number of readers or listeners in the event of a public reading. These public readings were the way that books were launched in antiquity, and in late antiquity events like these were no doubt a means of encouraging the population to frequent bookstores and order their own copy of the text in question.[4] During religious celebrations, readings would evoke fragments of sacred texts, and these, in turn, would serve as a model for even secular forms of expression. Once a text was read, contemplated, and internalized, it could be repeated to the less educated listener. Such was the case with the reading of devotional texts through spiritual direction, as well as with the prayer meetings at the Beguine convents.[5] In the absence of written texts, memory could be a highly effective tool. The *reportatio* method used in schools increased the means of access to a more flexible form of pedagogy: course notes were more or less allowed and revised, taken at various times while the instructor constantly revised his own teaching methods, or courses were modified by the author in order to create a text that was appropriate for circulation. In aristocratic assemblies at the end of the Middle Ages, live recitation of romances allowed for the dissemination of motifs and characters, regardless of the number of existing manuscripts of a text.[6] Consequently, a substantial number of diffused texts that were presumably of great influence are now lost to us.

Books could remain in use for a long time, up until writing practices (and language) had changed to such a degree that reading these texts

became impractical, or perhaps until evolving literary tastes had rendered them obsolete and unappealing. Their margins could thus be covered in handwritten notes that were progressively more recent, sometimes spanning a number of centuries.

There were also texts that, although rare, were still sought out. Works forbidden by either civil authorities or, more often, religious authorities (since the latter were the specialists in the written word) were seldom completely destroyed; in some instances, of course, they were burned, as with Gottschalk of Orbais and Abelard, who were forced to destroy their work. But these were only symbolic gestures: if a text had already been widely circulated – and it had to be if it was to attract the attention of censors – it was safely out of the censors' reach. Thereafter, those copies that escaped the censors were kept carefully out of sight, thus limiting their subsequent circulation. But the number of prohibited works that have survived to our time (the writings of Origen, Gottschalk, Abelard, and Marguerite Porrette, the first lives of St. Francis of Assisi) suggest that heterodox circuits, although discreet, continued to exist. The search for more controversial works was driven by curiosity as well as independent thought, as with certain Joachite writings that were sought out by the Franciscan Salimbene di Adam, as well as Gerardo di Borgo San Donnino; once Gerardo had learned of their common goal, he asked Salimbene to procure for him, if possible, the writings of a disciple of Joachim of Fiore, texts that he would readily buy. Salimbene knew that Joachim's works still existed in a convent from which he could borrow them. But when he asked for them, he was told that they were being used as exercises for an apprentice copyist at another location.[7] It is possible that, having locked these forbidden books away, the librarian did not want to admit that he still possessed them; it is also conceivable that in the search for inexpensive materials, he had actually destroyed questionable works and used their parchment, instead of compromising the more prized items in his library. In any case, the Joachite writings sought out by these two intellectuals had such an obvious and long-lasting influence in thirteenth-century Italy, and amongst the Spiritual Franciscans, that the difficulty of their procurement did not discourage one from pursuing them. Likewise, there are few remaining copies of the first tales of the companions of St. Francis of Assisi, ever since the general chapter of the Franciscan Order decreed their replacement by the *Legenda major* of St. Bonaventure; still, these stories heavily informed the *Fioretti* composed in the fourteenth century.[8]

## CIRCULATION OF THE BOOK-OBJECT

Engraved in stone, an inscription depended on the gaze of the passerby to infuse it with life. In contrast, texts could easily travel about in book form. Bernard of Clairvaux, noting the wide diffusion of Abelard's texts (which he considered suspect), lamented to himself, "Volant libri" (books fly).[9] While one copy may have sufficed in the case of inert texts, the textual mobility brought with it the need for multiple copies, either because the visitor wished to take one for himself, or because the afficionado, at times from very far away, hoped to procure one. With reasonably lengthy texts, circulation occurred exclusively through the movement of hard copies. The knowledge and use of a text henceforth depended on the materiality of a given copy.

But was the unbound gathering or notebook, lighter but more fragile and of less voluminous content than the bound codex, easier to transport? There is little evidence to support or reject this claim.[10] If faster to produce and easier to transport, lighter textual forms were also more susceptible to damage, or were, like the wax tablet, destined for transience. Unbound, or with binding that was poorly protected, the *libelli*, fascicles composed of one or multiple quires, were used to diffuse the majority of short texts at their initial circulation. Much has been said about hagiographic *libelli*,[11] but the ecdotic process shows that shorter genres, polemical works, texts linked to current affairs, and poetic works also appeared in this format; therein lies the difficulty of analyzing lyric poetry collections that depended on short-lived copies, appearing in small rolls, which served cantors in preparing to sing at ceremonies (these small rolls figure as the primary attribute of cantors in depictions at the end of the fifteenth century). Texts circulating in cheaper and more fragile formats were certainly preserved to a much lesser degree than those of great prestige, a fact that distorts our knowledge of which texts were actually read.

Once texts were assembled into a more substantial corpus, secured with their own binding, they were still subject to certain common hazards: they could be stolen, lent, brought home by a student from the place in which he had pursued his studies, and so on. Furthermore, books of high value would at once increase the desire for preservation and generate covetousness. The Vikings, who quickly learned of the market value of books, stole manuscripts in order to sell them, as the contemporary chronicles frequently tell. Size and weight were also significant: a *libellus* or a light book could be easily taken and was more likely to get lost; moreover, the habit of loaning individual parts of a

work that was preserved in the form of an unbound quire caused some texts to become dissociated, their sections dislocated, as in the case of the lengthy *Chronicon* by Hélinand of Froidmont, which became less and less complete over the centuries.[12]

In ecclesiastical circles, loaning was considered a charitable work (as specified by the Council of Paris, 1212), and was highly regulated, calling for certain precautions and sometimes a kind of security on loaned items. One could, nevertheless, borrow for the purposes of reading or copying (it would appear that in the early Middle Ages it made no particular difference to the lender), but the high value of a book as well as the risk of dispersal generated suspicion, especially when a loaned book, newly available, stimulated enthusiasm and was casually transmitted from hand to hand. Lenders particularly mistrusted people of superior status, since these individuals could be less cautious, nor were they as likely to return the books that they borrowed, as in the case of the bishop of Senlis who borrowed and lost a part of Helinand's *Chronicon*. Reluctance to lend an exemplar for transcription was common in the medieval period, and resulted in various persuasion techniques by the borrowers, such as the practice of exchanging copies: copying a text on location and sending it to another institution in exchange for a coveted text in its possession. In such situations, not only did the text travel, but so did copying conventions, as with those of Irish or insular monks writing on the Continent. Ties between different establishments usually gave rise to an exchange of texts, either because a student temporarily studying at a distant institution copied works that he had not yet encountered, or because a private exchange policy was established between personal acquaintances; such was the case with Reichenau and Saint-Denis when Waldo, the abbot of Saint-Gall and of Reichenau, became abbot of Saint-Denis.[13]

In the monastic world, monks were not permitted to hold personal possessions (only abbots could), but throughout their life, they were usually granted permission to use their manuscripts (e.g., those that they had copied themselves or possessed before becoming monks), even bringing them along on journeys: Loup, before being appointed abbot of Ferrières, left for Fulda with a number of books and returned with even more.[14] Around 900, a monk from Saint-Martial of Limoges, probably on a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, copied inscriptions or texts from Galicia and Leon, imitating the visigothic features, in the book from the monastery that he had clearly taken with him (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS 2036).[15] Abbots and prelates traveled not only with their own books, but often with those belonging to the institution over

which they presided, and so it happened that they finished in the library of the popes, by right of spoil, if they died during their visit *ad limina*.[16]

Finally, at the end of the Middle Ages, a portion of the books in college libraries – those that were not chained up in the reading room – were allowed to circulate. From the start, a patron could keep books for a reasonably long time, and eventually throughout the whole length of his studies. Yet students, sometimes coming from far away, would bring their books with them when they returned home for holiday or to stay; this was especially the case when, starting in the thirteenth century, the transformations that material books underwent rendered them smaller and lighter than ever before, making them easier to transport. Indeed, if the Sorbonne insisted on students returning books when they left the city, and only taking them out again upon their return, it was no doubt to avoid long absences and sometimes the loss of texts altogether. And since, without fail, they only loaned books to the wealthy, or at least to well-known figures, the loaning could be carried out fairly liberally. Moreover, at the Sorbonne, one needed to be a *socius* to borrow, but these borrowers benefited other readers by sharing books they had borrowed with those who were not *socii*.[17]

When the industry became increasingly organized in the thirteenth century, loaning practices differed widely: some booksellers lent at a high premium; others used an honor system. In this way, a Luccan manuscript restorer in the fifteenth century sold little, but lent a great deal.[18] And some political or intellectual personalities with rich collections lent books liberally.[19] Other modes of lending may have existed, but remain unknown to us due to a lack of documentation.

The circulation of so many books allowed for the reproduction of texts outside of their original zone of influence. And demand was high: librarians would exchange lists of coveted books in the event that others might know of a copy that could be transcribed.[20] Furthermore, collections of letters preserved since the patristic era (St. Jerome searching for Tertullian, Cassiodorus searching for Martianus Capella) included requests for loans and laments over the absence of certain titles.[21] There also existed bibliographies, belonging to the genre of St. Jerome's *De viris illustribus*, which could inform the reader of a text's existence.[22]

Searching for a text also meant being ready to pay the price, since a book in good condition was economically valuable. The cost of production materials would only truly diminish with the widespread use of paper in the later Middle Ages, although the durability of this new format was questionable.[23] When the manpower consisted of monks, whose subsistence was assured in any case, the cost was minimal, since their services

were guaranteed by personal relationships, obligation, and agreement. Labor became the greatest expense if one was to hire a copyist, whether the copyist did occasional jobs or copied by trade. The true savings for the impecunious student or the low-income aficionado came from copying one's own books, which clerks of the chancery did in the time of French pre-humanism under the pretext of ensuring a better final product. Such was the case with Nicholas of Clamanges or Jean de Montreuil in France; Poggio Bracciolini, known for his beautiful hand, in Italy; or even princes in captivity who took copying up as a hobby, such as Charles d'Orléans and his brother Jean of Angoulême, when they were prisoners in England.[24]

Production time, which was inevitably long, could be shortened by adopting certain measures. One method involved unbinding a text so that the resulting sections could be simultaneously transcribed by multiple individuals. In this way, a visiting dignitary could receive his new copy of a text before departing. The method of renting out a copy in pieces (the *pecia* system), used in university towns to accelerate the rotation of copies, had the advantage of both the quicker diffusion of new works and their assured quality, since errors no longer accumulated from one copy to the next.[25] For texts that were in high demand, this innovation allowed for a hastened diffusion over short periods; and the influence of texts produced in this way was felt much more quickly, allowing writers to take current affairs into consideration and respond to them much more promptly, as during the confrontation between the jurists of Philip the Fair and the partisans of the papacy.[26]

These examples suggest that, at least until the thirteenth or fourteenth century, manuscripts were produced on demand, or as needed ("bespoke"). There were scarcely any manuscripts produced in advance ("on spec"), except at the end of the Middle Ages, and even then, booksellers did not take risks and prepared only copies that they were certain they could sell. Booksellers, often operating in the secondhand market, distinguished themselves by trade from the parchmenters and, with increased circulation, were no longer content only producing books upon request.[27] Henceforth, in the context of organized and regulated book production, booksellers targeted potential readers. The great Italian booksellers became veritable entrepreneurs, who allowed for the diffusion of fashionable texts, sought out copies, and channeled their efforts as much to secondhand trade as they did to bespoke production. When Cosimo de Medici realized that Florence did not possess its own complete copy of Pliny's *Natural history*, the bookseller Niccolo Niccoli procured one that he bought from the Dominicans of Lübeck.

It is also at the end of the Middle Ages, it seems, that the reluctance to lend a text for the purpose of copying (which had always existed) and the addition of more stringent rules in the realm of library management generated in the possessor a sense of rights over his copy – a kind of copyright that preceded the law, and that may have existed in the underground without our knowing. A contract between two doctors in Marseille in 1318 stipulated the rental cost of a single copy of an Arabic-to-Hebrew translation for the duration of a year, the owner of the text reserving the same rights over the copy that he held over the original manuscript. The context (Jewish communities of the diaspora, customary practices of the *notariat* of southern France) explains the precision, so rare at the time, in the creation of laws governing a text, even before a clear conception of the author's rights had formed.[28] This was prefigured only by the material offer of a copy in the hopes of a gift in return from the receiver.

## TEXTUAL TRADITION

One can study a text's circulation by examining the stemmas of a tradition, finding within them both conventional cases and illuminating exceptions, so long as the evidence can be traced to a specific time and place. With regard to the early Middle Ages, we have to rely primarily on stemmas to surmise the wandering of manuscripts. Beginning in the ninth century an increasing number of extant manuscripts bear the marks of their travels, as well as of the loaning and exchange of books.

A few significant divergences resulted from historical circumstances.[29] The countries that adapted to these changes were those with the greatest demand for books, and ancient cultural centers contributed to this demand: Benedict Biscop traveled from England to Rome to obtain certain texts. Italy remained a reservoir of books even after the destruction brought about by Justinian's seizure of Rome. For the classics, in particular, it seems that the majority of ancient books, up until the seventh century, came from Italy.[30] And with the Christianization of Germania and the Scandinavian countries, books essential to cults, including the Paschal Tables and their annals, were provided by the founding institutions to their newly established subsidiaries, who subsequently procured the foundational works of antique and Christian culture before producing their own. Moreover, cultural transfers accompanied dynastic changes: the establishment of the Normans in England, and then the Angevins in Southern Italy, brought texts of French origin into these countries (in the

case of the latter, the texts again disappeared with the establishment of the Aragonese dynasty).[31]

Conversely, salvaged books fled in the face of invasions and destruction. While in some instances these events brought about the loss of texts, at others they contributed to their diffusion, first during the great invasions, but also with the wars waged by Justinian to reconquer lost parts of the empire. Clashes with the Vikings, wars against the Arabs, and the Reconquista all had a similar effect, and after 1453, Greek manuscripts were brought into the diaspora by lettered Byzantines who had escaped the Turkish conquest and relied on the economic value of their books to survive refugee conditions.[32]

Texts also spread through pilgrimage. The educated wayfarer making a pilgrimage to Rome, especially in the early Middle Ages, could find books that were not available in his home country. When pilgrims en route to Santiago de Compostela began flowing into Galicia, the exchange of texts on either side of the Pyrenees was constant. Catalonia became a kind of clearinghouse for the transmission of scientific texts in Arabic to the North and of works produced by the dominant Carolingian culture to the Iberian Peninsula.[33]

Political will sometimes favored the diffusion of certain texts, as it did in the Carolingian period with the proliferation of the *Regula pastoralis* of Gregory the Great, *The Rule of Saint Benedict* revised by Benedict of Aniane, and the Roman liturgy, all coveted by Charlemagne, as indicated by his requests from the Pope.[34] The diffusion of the Roman liturgy implied the replacement of ancient liturgical texts, and thus called for a large number of new manuscripts. In Spain, this movement, preceding even the Cluniac influence, which directed the attention of the peninsula toward texts from the North, favored the importation of continental copies.[35]

Another phenomenon allowed for the cross-cultural exchange of texts: the assembly of potential readers in mixed cultural contexts. A prime example is the university, an institution in which individuals from various countries came into contact. Each student returned home with any books he was able to procure from his place of study. The predominant position of Paris within Europe ensured the wide diffusion of twelfth- and early thirteenth-century works across nearly the entire continent. From the moment students had access to universities closer to home, textual diffusion, even with Latin texts, was reduced to the text's country of origin, at least for recent works. The incidence of texts spreading across all of Europe decreased considerably starting in the thirteenth century; the

circulation of more recent works occurred, instead, within a limited geographic region, or, in the case of great successes (the *Imitatio Christi*), was doubled through the practice of translation.[36]

Other clearinghouses for the exchange of texts were the councils of Constance and Basel, where prelates and their fellow men of letters could meet, often bringing with them their own stock of books. At these gatherings, booksellers would set up shop to transcribe copies on demand, especially of works pertaining to current affairs and the political and theological questions of the day, and also texts of all kinds that the council fathers had carried with them in the hopes of generating interest.[37]

Texts thus circulated through networks, either established through companionship from the days of one's education, or through an institutional framework. Already from the time of the Carolingian rule, having been together in "palace school" or having received an education from the same abbey forged bonds that were subsequently maintained through epistolary exchanges. Shared culture, characterized by a knowledge of the same erudite language as well as a common foundation of texts and memories, created what Brian Stock refers to as a "textual community," which involves the circulation of common texts within locations and constituencies who were capable of communicating with each other.[38] Religious orders, the habits of prayer communities, and the contacts made through the practice of circulating mortuary rolls also favored this kind of exchange.[39]

One can measure the effectiveness of the Benedictine networks through an examination of their loaning practices, where we see analogous uses of the same texts by canons employing different manuscript copies. When more rigorously organized orders surfaced – first the Cistercians, and then the mendicants – the diffusion of texts occurred within networks that were constituted as such, especially in the case of the Dominicans.[40] The more structured and centralized the orders became, the more these exchanges manifested themselves through control over the diffusion of texts, such as the development of the lengthy Cistercian legendary, or that of the prototype of the Dominican lectionary.[41] A work would spread to various convents and *studia* if it was approved and recommended.

Like the monks in previous generations, humanists were acquainted with one another across national boundaries, sending one another various works, and forming a veritable network in the "the republic of letters." The greatest example is Petrarch, who drew his readings from the rich papal library in Avignon, and never stopped collecting books with affection.[42] The lettered became collectors in his image, especially of works that were recently exhumed and announced throughout Europe. At the

same time, the foundational texts linked to the *Devotio moderna* benefited from the networks of the Brethren of the Common Life and the Windersheim Congregation in Northern Europe.[43] Since the transcription of devotional texts was especially popular, the list of recommended readings in this network ensured the proliferation of copies.

In times of increased and rapid demand, the means of production had to adapt accordingly. The *pecia* system, mentioned above, was thus introduced in the thirteenth century, and for texts that needed intense and accelerated diffusion, a new type of tradition emerged: copies were derived from the same exemplar (rather than copying more opportunistically from any manuscript that was available), reducing the errors of their predecessors while remaining at the same level of remove from the original. Subsequently, these first-generation copies could, in turn, be transcribed and produce a lineage.[44]

But occasionally, texts of superior quality emerged that did not depend on the central branch of diffusion: they came, most likely, not from the exemplar that was placed on loan and was itself a copy, but from the author's own exemplar, sometimes informal and anepigraphic, reinfused into circulation after a period of latency and at a point when we cannot even ascertain who wrote the text (an author did not necessarily sign the exemplar that he intended to keep). These copies, whether forgotten in the drawers of the writer or on the shelves of an unfrequented library, were long dormant and then reactivated.[45]

The success of a given text altered the very conditions in which it circulated. In a general sense, the more widely a text was disseminated, the more derivative copies were produced, which in turn caused modifications in the text despite the best efforts of the copyists and users. But it also became easier to compare various copies. Yet the progressive corruption of the original texts, from one copy to the next, was a recurring problem of diffusion, which the most educated dealt with by zealously correcting their copies according to their own tastes. Certain branches of the tradition were practically new editions altogether, revivals that tended to amend certain deteriorated elements and restore sense and coherence to the text, but which might "disfigure" it with respect to its original form.[46]

## THE ROLE OF THE AUTHOR AND EDITORS

Within the context of manuscript culture, the release of a text by its author or its assignee rested on the production of a copy that was intended for diffusion, and in principle only a single copy, since the copies that followed

stemmed from the author's initial drive to bring his text to life. What followed, in general, did not depend so much on the author as it did on his reader, or readers, and he might be content with only an elitist distribution of his text, so long as the work reached its intended recipient(s).[47] Authors who had the material and financial means to diffuse their own texts were rare; unlike St. Gregory the Great, few were able to have copies of their works made at their own expense for the purpose of sending them, say, to friends in Italy, to the bishop of Seville, or to Theodolinda, the Lombard queen.[48]

Another phenomenon to consider is the possibility that a text was diffused during the course of its production, either with the consent of its author, who might have made his work in progress known to others (as with St. Augustine), or without his agreement (Cassiodorus, Anselm).[49] Authors could also die before completing their work, like Virgil for the *Aeneid* and Petrarch for *Africa*. Alternatively, a work could remain with its creator, to whom one would have to go to copy it, as with texts in Hebrew and Arabic. Since the author was free to continue working on his copy, often it evolved over time. For instance, Jean Froissart offered versions of his texts to "protectors," but continued to work on his own copies, apparently even on two at a time depending on his whereabouts.[50]

The role of the author himself was thus unpredictable and unstable if he was not socially visible. For it was only at the end of the Middle Ages that writing could be regarded as a career, and some authors of vernacular works took it upon themselves to diffuse their own creations. Initially, all authors had other roles or professions, and writing was something of a side job. Only persons with recognized intellectual authority, and occupying distinguished positions (pope, bishop, etc.), could allow themselves to assume with authority their relationship to the reader, secure in the knowledge that their work would be diffused. Those with lesser status could present their work to a superior. In this way, they could ensure a certain level of legitimacy, validate their freedom of speech through a dedication that implicated the dedicatee, who would in turn (ideally) provide them with support and protection. Authors could also increase the number of dedications by producing more copies, assuming they had the means. Every copy that was disseminated could potentially bring about derivative copies, depending on what the dedicatees decided to do with them. But in many cases, the diffusion of a work, either because of a lack in talent, connections, or both, was impossible.[51]

A text whose diffusion was poorly managed at the start of its circulation could suffer from limited diffusion later on. It might fail to proliferate,

and thus lack the opportunity to spread properly. Either because they were sent to an important person who was simply too occupied, or because of poor timing, certain pieces did not spread at all. An author who depended on a single recipient thus risked utter disappointment. Richerus, a monk at Reims, offered his *Histories* to his archbishop and friend, Gerbert, who subsequently had to leave his position in Reims, and brought the original (and probably unique) manuscript to the Ottonian court, where the text was received with little interest. Later, the emperor Henry II gave it to the monastery at Bamberg; the monks preserved this copy, which would have doubtless been lost in the imperial court.[52] None of the translations offered to the Duke of Bedford (regent of France for England at the beginning of the fifteenth century) were diffused, largely because the recent political and military debacle for the English occupiers did not make for favorable conditions; the translations were, however, just as scholarly as those promoted by Charles V under better circumstances.[53]

This kind of "short circuit" could also occur at a later point in a text's life. Certain locations where texts were preserved offered little chance of revival. In one case, Deacon Florus of Lyon had a loyal disciple, Mannon, who hoped to possess as many of his works as possible, bringing them to his abbey in Saint-Oyand in Jura. Yet of these manuscripts there is not a single remaining copy. Meanwhile, those that never left Lyon spread quite well. In other words, the displacement from Lyon to Jura led to a dead end. We know this because another branch of the textual tradition exists, and only one part of Mannon's books survived, after a good many adventures.[54] But a large number of perfectly respectable works undoubtedly disappeared simply by mischance, never reaching their potential readership.

Conversely, a text that circulated poorly, or that had simply never spread at all, could be revived, even centuries later, and sometimes it only took a single influential reader for this to come about. Gerbert's zeal allowed for the revival of Boethius around the year 1000. In the twelfth century, Hugh of St. Victor's interest in, and commentary on, *The celestial hierarchy* expanded the influence of works by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, and led to an increase in the number of copies in circulation.[55] In the fifteenth century, renewed interest in Greece revived the circulation of a chronicle of the Trojan War attributed to Dictys Cretensis, whereas the people of the Latin West in the Middle Ages had previously considered themselves to be the heirs of the Trojans, and had consequently read the tale of Dares Phrygius instead, a representative of the other camp.[56]

The circulation of a text could also be reinforced by an "alliance" with others when it entered into a corpus that ensured its visibility. In a general sense, the transformation of the book from a *volumen* with few contents to a more substantial codex allowed for the inclusion of an increased number of works in a single volume; placement in a collection ensured the diffusion of texts that might have otherwise been lost on their own. A scholarly collection such as the *Auctores octo*, for example, ensured the diffusion, together with antique works, of medieval compositions that, serving henceforth as the base for literary education, saw an abundant and long-lasting proliferation (and would still be often printed until 1550): Matthew of Vendôme's *Tobias*, as well as the *Chartula* and *Floretus*.

Ultimately, save for the few very great authors who enjoyed a particular status and prestige, there was nothing inviolable about a text. It could be continuously rewritten, interpolated, and even re-transcribed as part of another book. In this way, collections were constituted of any particular subject based on patristic works and collections, and adapted to the needs of users. Collections of patristic sermons on a particular theme were likewise reorganized and filled out with works by other authors on the same subject. The mutability of texts was indeed an inherent part of their use. From the moment that they served a purpose, they were constantly modified and, in the minds of the copyists and clients, improved. Hybridization and revival were constant.

False attributions were what might be regarded as a "marketing tactic," since they could often render a work more attractive. At times they were deliberate (as with pseudonyms), while at others they were one of the hazards of transmission. Titles were a delicate accessory, often omitted altogether or only restored after diffusion.[57] If the work circulated, it meant it was of interest, and this interest could be characterized as prestige rooted in authority. Adding the name of Ambrose at the beginning of a hymn, Augustine's at the start of a sermon, or Primat's or Map's before a satirical poem, meant recommending its use and underlining its value, more so than affirming its authenticity. There are 177 apocryphal works attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux, and no doubt just as many to St. Augustine. It is often difficult to determine when and under what circumstances a false attribution to a prestigious author was made, but it certainly promoted diffusion. The most informed experts occasionally call these questionable attributions into doubt, as is seen in certain medieval bibliographies.[58]

## THE SUCCESS OF A TEXT

The renown of an author can generate demand, as can the fact that a work meets readerly needs at a particular time. Since the diffusion of works, that is, their influence on collective and individual mentalities, essentially rests on the written tradition, one can attempt to evaluate textual diffusion based on the number of surviving copies. This is but one means of measuring their real influence, and a parameter that bears a number of shortcomings,[59] but it can be useful: since the reproduction of a work is consistently expensive, these costs are not assumed without good reason. A book without value for its potential readership has no chance of being sufficiently re-copied to ensure its survival (with much variation depending on the period and the type of work, we can estimate that about 10 percent of all copies have survived to this day).[60] When we reach a certain number of copies, the total of surviving manuscripts, insofar as they are accounted for in public collections, gives a fair idea of the audience for a work.[61] An analysis of a text's tradition or dissemination yields information on intellectual history, the evolution of tastes, and the landscape of certain cultural milieux. Unfortunately, evaluating a text's tradition is long and arduous work when it consists of hundreds of volumes, and few works have benefited from this kind of thorough research. Meanwhile most editors, out of a concern for efficiency, concentrate only on the manuscripts useful for the production of the best possible text, without tracking with detail the various travels and belated uses that are the subject of the history of a textual tradition.[62]

The most widespread works were those that served as vehicles for knowledge: ancient manuals for rhetoric (Cicero's *De inventione*, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, more than 1,000 copies altogether), poetics (Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova*, 200 copies),[63] grammar (Donatus for beginners, at least 1,000 copies, partially replaced by the verse grammar of Alexander of Villedieu at the end of the twelfth century, 400 manuscripts), Priscian for advanced students (850 manuscripts), the dictionaries (*Derivationes*, by Huguccio of Pisa, 210 manuscripts, and later on, *Vocabularius ex quo*, 250 manuscripts), the encyclopedias (the *Etymologies* by Isidore of Seville, preserved in hundreds of witnesses, partially supplanted by the *De rerum natura* by Rabanus Maurus, who updated Isidore in the ninth century; and Bartholomaeus Anglicus). The manuals for computus, astronomy, music, and medicine were also well represented. The florilegia and collections of excerpts enjoyed an excellent diffusion from the Merovingian period (the *Liber scintillarum* by Defensor of Ligugé, 360 manuscripts)

until the production of the florilegia in which the Cistercians specialized, as well as the great Dominican contributions; and the manuals (Honorius Augustodunensis, and the apocryphal *Secreta secretorum*, attributed to Aristotle) extended this activity.

The monasteries and cathedral chapters stored works that allowed one to assimilate the meaning and values of the Bible (*Homiliae in Evangelium* by Gregory the Great, 1,270 copies, *Historia scolastica* by Peter Comestor, used by all beginner students in the faculties of theology, 800 manuscripts), and of texts that could nurture a monastic spirituality: the *Moralia in Job* by Gregory the Great (1,500 manuscripts); Isidore of Seville's *Synonyma* and *Sententiae* (491 and 500 manuscripts, respectively); *De contemptu mundi* by Innocent III (672 manuscripts). The authors of mystical texts in the twelfth century, Victorine and Cistercian, were equally represented by hundreds of manuscripts,[64] a large proportion of which were adopted by the *Devotio moderna*, which granted them a new momentum.[65] The success of the *Imitatio Christi* by Thomas à Kempis (more than 1,000 manuscripts, of which 850 were in Latin) was the pinnacle of the movement of devotional reading that characterized Rhineland mysticism.

In the realm of literary philosophy, no medieval work can compete with the advances made by Boethius' *Consolation of philosophy* (900 manuscripts). The academic sphere, replaced by the Dominican and Franciscan networks, favored the diffusion of works that were used in higher studies, in the fields of law and theology. Peter Lombard's *Four books of sentences*, at the foundation of a systematic teaching of theology in the thirteenth century, was mandatory reading for all advanced students (1,257 copies). Several hundred manuscripts of the *Compendium theologicae veritatis*, by the Dominican Hugh Ripelin, were also produced (at least 600). After the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, collections of sermons increased in number, notably those of Jacobus de Voragine (1,210 manuscripts). The *Legenda aurea* (926 manuscripts), by the same author, was the epitome of hagiographic literature, a very prolific genre at the time. Manuals on liturgical interpretation were also widely diffused.

Of the historical works, only Martin of Opava's very dry chronicle exceeded 500 copies. The most widespread, with Bede, were works of historical fiction, Geoffrey of Monmouth or the Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle. And the widespread dissemination of political news emerged with Philip the Fair's fight with the papacy (*De regimine principum* by Giles of Rome, 350 manuscripts).

Next to these bestsellers, the diffusion of imaginative or poetic texts seems weak, except at the end of the Middle Ages with the great successes

in vernacular writing, which almost always had moral or philosophical inflections.[66] In short, the circulation of texts in the Middle Ages was symptomatic of an intense pursuit of knowledge, and simultaneously the spiritual preoccupation with saving one's soul. Knowledge and wisdom (two concepts for one word, *sapientia*) were the content so sought out in these circulating texts, and operated as drivers of cultural demand.

## NOTES

1 Guyotjeannin, *Les cartulaires*; Giry, *Manuel de diplomatique*.
2 For example, in the miscellaneous MS Leiden, Voss. lat. qu. 69, CLA X, 1585 (*c.*800).
3 Wegner, *A student's guide to textual criticism of the Bible*, 95.
4 Kleberg, "Commercio librario," 40–80.
5 Kock, *Die Buchkultur*.
6 Bohler, *Le goût du lecteur*.
7 Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, vol. II, 660–4.
8 *François d'Assise*.
9 Letter 189, in *Opera omnia*, vol. VIII, 13.
10 Questa and Raffaelli, *Il libro e il testo*.
11 For example, Poulin, "Les libelli dans l'édition hagiographique," 15–193.
12 Paulmier-Foucart, "Ecrire l'histoire au XIIIe siècle," 49–70.
13 This and other examples in *Lo spazio letterario*, vol. II, 2.1.3.
14 Pellegrin, "Les manuscrits de Loup de Ferrières," 131–57; and the current researches of Michael Allen.
15 Diaz y Diaz, "La circulation des manuscrits," 238.
16 For example, some of the books of Cardinal Jean Jouffroy (d. 1473). See Beltran, "L'humanisme français," 123–62.
17 Jullien de Pommerol, "Le prêt de livres," 339–74.
18 Polica, "Le commerce et le prêt de livres," 33–46.
19 See Jullien de Pommerol, "Le prêt de livres."
20 Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins*, ch. 2, "Recherche des modèles et copie des manuscrits."
21 Holtz, "L'humanisme de Loup de Ferrières," 201–13; L. D. Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and scholars*.
22 Dekkers, "Pour une histoire de la bibliographie chrétienne," 53–65.
23 Ornato, *La face cachée du livre médiéval*.
24 Ouy, *La librairie des frères captifs*.
25 Bataillon, *La production du livre universitaire au Moyen Âge*.
26 Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*.
27 Rouse and Rouse, *Illiterati et uxorati*.
28 Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda, *Le discours des livres*, 202.
29 For instance, on the impact of the Hundred Years War: Bozzolo and Ornato, "Les fluctuations de la production manuscrite," 51–75.

30 Bischoff, "Centri scrittorii."
31 Toscano, *La Biblioteca reale di Napoli*.
32 Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci*.
33 Diaz y Diaz, "La circulation des manuscrits."
34 R. McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the written word*.
35 Diaz y Diaz, "La circulation des manuscrits."
36 Bozzolo, Ornato, and Coq, "La production du livre," 129–60; Ornato, *Apologia dell'apogeo*.
37 Lehmann, "Konstanz und Basel als Büchermärkte," vol. I, 253–80; Hobbins, *Authorship and publicity before print*, esp. chs. 6 and 7.
38 Stock, *The implications of literacy*.
39 Quinn, *Recueil des rouleaux des morts*.
40 Humphreys, *The book provisions of the medieval friars*.
41 Roma, Sancta Sabina XIV LI. See Urfels-Capot, *Le sanctoral du lectionnaire de l'office dominicain*.
42 Mann, *Petrarch*.
43 Kock, *Die Buchkultur der Devotio moderna*; Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers of the common life*.
44 Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*; Macken, "L'édition critique des ouvrages diffusés," 285–308.
45 This was proved for numerous classic authors by Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione*; and by personal editorial experience.
46 Canfora, *Le copiste comme auteur*.
47 Bourgain, "L'édition des manuscrits," 49–75.
48 Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien*, vol. III, 37.
49 Dolbeau, "Brouillons et textes," 191–221; Courcelle, "Histoire d'un brouillon cassiodorien," 77–98.
50 J. J. N. Palmer, *Froissart*.
51 Bourgain, "La naissance officielle de l'œuvre," 195–205.
52 Glenn, *Politics and history in the tenth century*.
53 Duval, "La traduction latine du *Pèlerinage de l'âme*," 192; Duval, "La mise en prose du *Pèlerinage de l'âme*."
54 Turcan-Verkerk, "Mannon de Saint-Oyen," 169–243.
55 Poirel, *Des symboles et des anges*.
56 Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d'un mythe*.
57 Holtz, "Autore, copista, anonimo," 325–52.
58 Guenée, "'Authentique et approuvé,'" 216–29.
59 Dekkers and Hoste, "De la pénurie des manuscrits anciens," 24–37.
60 Gerhard Eis, for German poetry, estimates that 99 percent of manuscripts are lost (*Vom Werden altdeutscher Dichtung*). Munk Olsen (*L'étude des auteurs classiques latins,* vol. IV, pt. I) thinks that approximately 10 percent survived. For incunables, more than 90 percent are lost.
61 Bozzolo and Ornato, "Les lectures des Français aux XIVe et XVe siècles," vol. II, 713–62.

62 A database on the success of Latin texts, directed by P. Bourgain, is accessible at http://fama.irht.cnrs.fr. The numbers of surviving manuscripts that follow are taken from there.
63 Gallick, "The continuity of the rhetorical tradition," 44–7.
64 Constable, "The popularity of twelfth-century spiritual writers," 3–28.
65 Kock, *Die Buchkultur der Devotio moderna.*
66 Duval, *Lectures françaises de la fin du Moyen Âge*.

CHAPTER 9

# *Multilingualism and late medieval manuscript culture*

*Lucie Doležalová*

In this chapter, I analyze the complexities of and opportunities for studying manuscripts texts in more than one language through the lens of Central European, and specifically Bohemian, case studies.[1] As in England and elsewhere in the later Middle Ages, manuscripts produced in Bohemia register the rich and often contentious realities of communication in more than one language within a defined geographical setting. Three primary languages – Latin, Czech, and German – were used in late medieval Bohemia. The standard view of their interaction was set up during the nineteenth-century national awakening, presented concisely, for example, in a 1907 schoolbook on Czech literature:

> But even when Latin was used for writing, it was always with patriotic aims, with enthusiasm and national consciousness. The spirit of this Latin writing always remained a Czech national spirit, similar to our situation at the beginning of the nineteenth century during our awakening, when all our national thinking and writing was carried out through the German language but remained genuinely Czech in its spirit. The father of this Latin writing in a national spirit was Cosmas … Meanwhile Latin became the shared language of the clergy and the intellectuals, used both before the altar and in the scientific book, both by the native son and the German stranger. But at that time it was not hated as much as German, which was used alongside Latin, because it did not harm the domestic language and patriotic thinking as much as the arrogant, obtrusive German. Gradually, under the dominion and pressure of Latin (albeit foreign), which seized all our writing and enlightenment, a counter-pressure was being awakened in the national consciousness, a healthy reaction was being formed, the home language was again pulling itself together to claim its right to a reawakening, and it tried to find its use again in writing and culture. National thinking and feeling, as well as patriotic consciousness, begin to express themselves through the domestic language. It happens at first timidly: gradually, the domestic language sneaks into Latin texts only diffidently; only in marginal notes and between the lines, the Czech soul appears within the flood of Latin. Yet the number of these notes and additions increases, and these manifestations of the home language become more and more copious.[2]

The now familiar and enduring pattern is in place: during the Middle Ages, the national languages won over the foreign Latin and arrogant competing vernacular(s) (i.e., German, in the Bohemian case) and gained a primary role in intellectual cultural space.[3] Medieval Latin is seen as external here, other vernaculars as threats to national identity. Only the national vernacular is "ours," fit to express our unique thoughts and feelings. These histories would like to disregard Latin writing altogether and concentrate only on the vernacular. Yet that would make the source material rather scarce: there is a translation of the Gospels, a prologue to the Gospels (Proglas), and some liturgical texts in Old Church Slavonic from Great Moravia in the ninth century followed by a disputable gap,[4] and the first Old Czech glosses come only from the fourteenth century. Thus, Latin writings are also included in the histories, and their inclusion is justified by the fact that they reveal a "Czech national spirit" and unique Czech thought.[5] Similar narratives are characteristic for other European textbooks. They are the heritage of the nineteenth-century nationalistic movements that saw the Middle Ages primarily as a cradle of European nations and defined the nations perhaps most importantly through language.[6]

The narrative of the gradual emancipation of the vernaculars from the sacred languages (and thus the rise of national cultures) is not entirely wrong. Within the manuscript context, it can (with some generalization) be shown how the vernaculars gradually came to occupy more and more physical space on the page: from marginal glosses, to longer comments and parallel translations, to independent texts copied as the primary manuscript content. Already during the Middle Ages there are proto-nationalistic remarks explicitly associating national identity with linguistic identity. The situation in the Czech lands has its own particular character in this respect: nationalism seems to have developed during and in close connection with the Hussite movement (*c.*1402–89: in the rest of Europe *Bohemus* translates simply as "heretic" in this period). František Šmahel has called the Hussite period a "Czech anomaly" as far as religious reform is concerned, pointing also to the "early maturity and almost universal social impact"[7] of Czech nationalism in Bohemia at the time. Remarks on language as a crucial aspect of national identity are frequent in the period, especially when it comes to contrasting Czech and German. For example, Jan Hus (d. 1415) calls for purifying the Czech language from the contaminating influence of German, stressing that children in mixed marriages should be taught only Czech, and suggesting that Czechs who speak half Czech and half German should be whipped.[8]

Yet a nationalistic approach to medieval communication is misleading in several respects: first, it tends to conceive of individual languages as clearly separable markers of particular identities, whereas current research suggests that the situation is not so simple, and that multilingual practices result primarily from situation-specific pragmatic strategies of communication.[9] "Multilingual" describes not only persons who function in the same way within disparate cultures whose languages and cultural codes they fully master, but also persons who, on a daily basis, use more than one language for communication, and are able to switch codes, even though their level of competency in the individual languages, the way they acquired them, and the linguistic distances between those languages may vary.[10] Thus, rather than looking for a universal theory describing the complex linguistic situation of the Middle Ages, we would more appropriately apply pragmatic and sociolinguistic approaches that focus on individual social and cultural environments, genres, audiences, and the concrete communication situations, thereby offering a fuller, though much more complex, picture.[11] It becomes clear that the medieval vernacular languages were not the stable and clearly defined integral units that they might seem to have been from a modern perspective.[12] As Stein aptly states about the European vernaculars:

> [They] were presumed to contain the national soul in its most direct manifestation. Indeed, in the birth of national literary studies, the medieval vernaculars occupied the same intellectual slot as Greek and Latin had done in the pan-European humanist curriculum. And hence, too, the emphatic assertion – despite all evidence to the contrary – that the European vernaculars were themselves linguistically homogenous entities. … A very large number of 12th and 13th c. mss. produced in England cross linguistic boundaries separating literary from non-literary, sacred from secular, serious from comic, popular from learned – to name only a few categories that seem inescapably necessary in organizing our habitual understanding of literature and culture. The categories are frequently and often puzzlingly transgressed by medieval habits of compilation.[13]

Second, by promoting one national vernacular, the role of the competing vernaculars in a given area tends to be left unstudied or downplayed. Thus, Czech scholarship has concentrated on Czech texts and almost completely neglected German texts written in the same geographical area.[14] In addition, much energy has been dedicated to proving the Czech origin of a number of texts that later turned out to be translations from Latin or German. In texts drawing on an existing tradition, scholars made efforts to prove that it is the Czech spirit that was behind those creations. If there was an outside influence, a French model would always be preferable to

a German one. A good example is a Czech Easter farce from the fourteenth century, *Mastičkář* (*Unguentarius*, or "Ointment Seller," surviving only in two fragments). The biblical reference to the three Maries buying ointment to anoint Jesus's body is extended into a complex dramatic scene: the ointment seller has two servants and a shrewish wife, as well as another customer, Abraham, who asks him to use his ointments to resurrect his dead son, Isaac. The language used, rhymed but containing a number of vulgarisms, may seem to be very close to an actual spoken language. At the same time, the language has a distinct characterizing role here: the three Maries speak in Latin, Abraham speaks a nice and clear Czech, while the Mastičkář himself, as well as his servants and his shrewish wife, speaks in a rather vulgar mixture of Czech and German.[15] It is thus possible that the whole is merely a literary construction and cannot be easily used to provide information on late medieval oral communication. In any case, for several decades after its discovery in 1823 (the second fragment was discovered only in 1887), research concentrated primarily on discussing whether it derived from a German model or rather was an independent and genuinely Czech creation.[16]

Third, the aim to promote the national vernacular over Latin leads to presenting vernacular oral culture as sophisticated and fully developed before it manifestly entered the written discourse. There is ample evidence to suggest that the process of vernacularization was a gradual one in both oral and written environments.[17] For example, an anonymous treatise *De modulo studendi* ("On the way of studying"), kept by the Carthusians from Dolany, near Olomouc, contains detailed advice to preachers on how to simplify Latin before translating it into the vernacular (German, in this case), *propter ineptitudinem vulgarem* ("because of the ineptness of the vulgar language") – and that text appeared around 1456.[18] Medieval orality is inevitably studied on the basis of the few material traces it left (a sort of a paradox in itself), and thus caution is always in place.[19]

Fourth, the nationalistic approach does not do justice to Latin. Within medieval written culture, the amount of surviving Latin as opposed to vernacular manuscripts is striking: there are *c.*1,000,000 surviving manuscripts in Latin, 55,000 in Greek, and about 20,000 in German.[20] This disproportion is not reflected in scholarship: while all vernacular production is carefully analyzed, many widely copied medieval Latin texts remain unedited and unstudied. But it was medieval Latin, no one's mother tongue in the Middle Ages, that secured efficient communication across medieval Europe, as well as a significant level of cultural continuity for over 1,000 years. In many ways, medieval Latin defines the period.

Finally, a nationalistic approach creates a simplified contrast between Latin and the vernacular languages, characterizing the one as a fixed monolith associated with the official, clerical, and solemn culture, and the other with an unofficial lay (and amusing) culture that was growing, developing, and experimenting in creative ways. Yet, as has been shown by Peter Stotz[21] and Francesco Stella,[22] among others, medieval Latin was a dynamic language undergoing many transformations depending on the social and cultural environments in which it operated. The variety of textual production in the vernaculars defies such a clean-cut division as well.

## MULTILINGUALISM AS REFLECTED IN MANUSCRIPTS

The subjects of medieval multilingualism and orality share the same methodological challenge: they are difficult to grasp on the basis of surviving evidence, namely, the texts written down in manuscripts. Limited to the literate elite of the society, medieval written culture provides only a fragmentary picture of medieval communication. Unless it is combined with speculative and comparative methods, a material approach to oral and multilingual practices allows for few conclusions. Under such circumstances, as is clear from the discussion above, scholarly analyses frequently reveal more about the opinions and desires of their authors than about the Middle Ages.

Concentrating on the manuscript evidence allows for different kinds of focus, each giving rise to different kinds of results. In the following section, each generally applicable type of focus (from the most general approach to the most specific, as if gradually zooming in on a camera) is briefly described and illustrated with an example from a Czech manuscript. The Czech examples resonate with examples from Europe more broadly: while the particularities may be different, the overall patterns correspond. Thus, the present analysis is meant as a step toward a more general, yet less simplified, picture of multilingualism in late medieval Europe in the context of manuscript study.

### *A group of codices from a specific time and place*

With a wide focus, it is possible to consider all manuscripts that originated or were kept within a particular area during a specific temporal span. The most frequent type of such study is the reconstruction of a medieval library, or the identification of codices produced at a particular

scriptorium. In theory, after gathering the material evidence, it is possible to perform a statistical overview of the language preferences (possibly changing over time, or varying at different places within the area, etc.) and analyze the results. In practice, however, working with medieval manuscripts always entails working with fragmentary evidence and thus a great deal of information is always missing, the overall picture lacking.

A specifically Czech example is the library of the Augustinian canonry in Roudnice nad Labem (Raudnitz, *c.*40 km north of Prague) founded in 1333 by Bishop John IV of Dražice. According to its original statutes only those whose parents were both Czech, and who spoke Czech themselves, were allowed to enter.[23] Roudnice is thus usually considered crucial for the dissemination of Czech culture. It is also associated with the spread of *devotio moderna* in the region. The canonry was destroyed by the Hussites in 1421, and some of the canons left for Erfurt, others for Wrocław. After the wars, it revived for some time until it was destroyed for good by George of Poděbrady in 1467.[24] In spite of this troubled fate, 166 manuscripts formerly owned by the Augustinian canons of Roudnice have been identified, and more are probably still waiting to be discovered.[25] Yet this is still only about one third of the supposed original library and so it is not safe to draw absolute conclusions about its medieval contents. In addition, it is not clear in what way the monks selected the codices to be saved: it is primarily the standard volumes like the Bible, writings of the Church Fathers, and the widespread commentaries on the Bible that have survived. Perhaps the more contemporary texts, which might have been written on paper rather than parchment and less lavishly illuminated, were considered less important and so left behind, or taken abroad, where they were sold or left.

In any case, it is striking that within the comparatively well-preserved library of a monastery founded uniquely for Czech monks, one has to search hard for Czech texts. Beside a small number of manuscripts that have Czech glosses and brief marginal additions, there was originally one Czech fragment that was used for the binding of a fourteenth-century codex with excerpts from the works of Bernard of Clairvaux attributed to Peter of Siena (Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea, MS XIV D 15). This Czech fragment (now catalogued as Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea, MS I A c 55) is a unique text: the already mentioned farce, *Mastičkář*.

Czech scholarship is generally unaware of the fact that this *Mastičkář* fragment was found within a Roudnice codex: it was removed during the national awakening at the beginning of the nineteenth century when all the discovered Czech fragments were taken out of their original

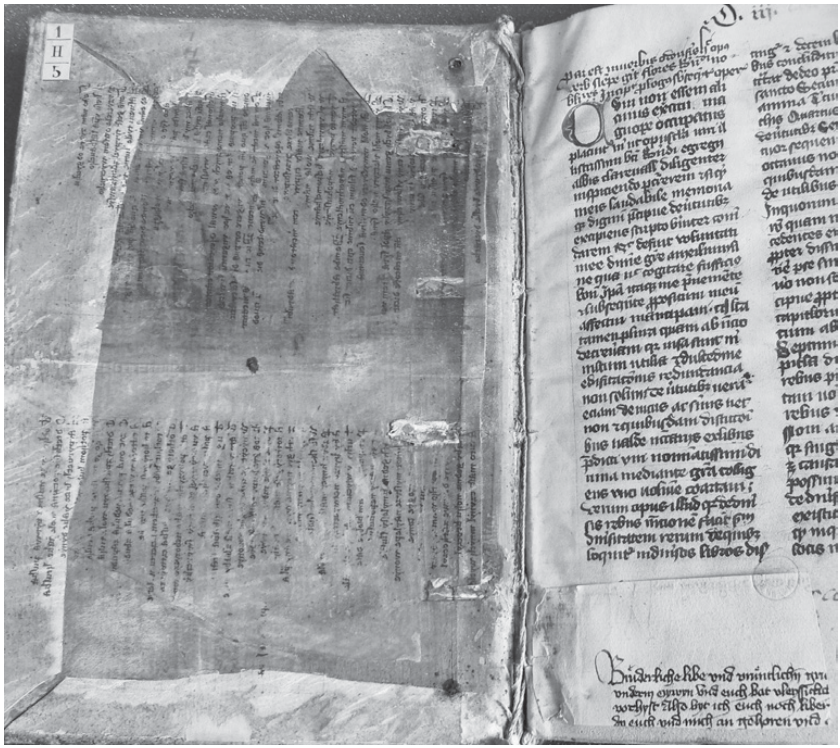


Figure 9.1. MS Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea, XIV D 15, the ink traces left by the Czech Mastičkář fragment on the inside of the cover board of an otherwise Latin codex.

environments, with little attempt to record the fact as it was considered irrelevant. In this case, the reconstruction is certain because the fragment left ink traces on the flyleaf in the codex (Figure 9.1), but normally such information is simply lost today. Carol Symes observes: "Medieval processes of textual transmission have exercised less effect on the reception and interpretation of medieval 'literature' than modern trends in preservation, proscription, and 'recognition', or modern habits of collection, categorization, and use."[26]

It would of course be wrong to expect there to be a high ratio of vernacular texts within a late medieval monastery – the Latin texts would always prevail thanks in part to the older library holdings, tradition, and inertia in written communication. Nevertheless, the fact that probably the only Czech text from the pro-Czech monastery of Roudnice was used there merely to strengthen the binding of a Latin codex could indeed be

interpreted symbolically, and the supposed "Czechness" of the monastery could be questioned.

### *One scribe in different manuscripts*

Texts in various languages across various codices identified as the work of one hand are usually a proof of personal multilingual competence.[27] Sometimes it is possible to justify the scribe's choice of language through the particular purpose, audience, or genre of the text (or an entire codex); at other times one scribe copies very similar texts repeatedly, now in Latin, now in the vernacular. This is especially the case for widely diffused late medieval devotional, catechetic, moral, or mnemonic texts: the scribes/authors often copied them, directly translated them (partly or wholly), summarized them, and/or glossed them in Latin or in the vernacular.

### *One codex*

If the unit under scrutiny is formed by a single codex, the time of its binding matters: a codex containing texts in various languages that was bound together only after the Middle Ages does not reflect medieval multilingualism but only post-medieval multilingual interests.[28] Codices bound during the Middle Ages (whether or not their parts originated at one time and one place) may be multilingual in different ways.

*No overlapping (individual texts in different languages)*
If the texts in different languages appear within one medieval codex but as separate entities, each in one language, it should be asked whether or not they share an intended use, audience, and/or function. Such a codex may indeed indicate participation in a multilingual textual community. Yet one codex does not necessarily equal one reader; although a codex might have been intended for readers with multilingual competencies, it might never have been read by such readers. Instead, each reader might have read only what he or she could understand.[29] Another possibility is that the same text is included in two or more languages within a codex. In such a case, the individual language versions usually differ substantially from one another and the discrepancies may be used to discuss the ways of appropriating a text within (or for) a particular linguistic readership.

*Overlapping due to reception*

Since, as Carol Symes puts it, "in the manuscript matrix … no one ever has the last word,"[30] an originally single-language codex may become multilingual due to interventions by its later readers. Thus, there may be several layers within one manuscript, each from a different time and place, and they should be clearly distinguished when the codex is being analyzed. As far as explanatory translation glosses are concerned, they are sometimes created by a later reader, but at other times they were considered an inherent part of the main text and were carefully copied together with it.[31] This, of course, has little to do with multilingualism per se, but if the codex was always kept in one place, the traces of reception may be a sign of a multilingual environment.[32]

*Designed overlapping*

Including more languages within one text may be the original intention of its author or scribe. There is the genre of macaronic poetry, for example, and macaronic sermons are frequent, too. Dictionaries also belong to this category, as do in fact a number of other texts connected to studying, including, for example, Latin texts with fixed translation glosses. On the other hand, there may also be vernacular texts with rubrics, titles, or an *accessus* in Latin: vernacular authors sometimes crafted Latin apparatus for their texts.[33] Designed linguistic overlapping is also an established practice for several branches of medieval scientific literature: this type of writing naturally includes words from a variety of languages, sometimes as synonyms, other times switching from one language to another, where the terms are more precise. Here (e.g., in medical or surgical texts or texts concerned with natural sciences), multilingualism is the rule rather than the exception.[34] This situation usually, but not necessarily, implies that there is one scribe.

Among the manuscripts from the library of the Augustinian canons of Roudnice, there is a single German text. It is the *Tractatus de penitencia* (sometimes entitled *Confessionale*) by Štěpán of Kolín (Stephanus de Colonia, d. 1406),[35] and it is in fact half German and half Latin – every chapter is first presented in Latin, followed by a German rephrasing, which is sometimes substantially shorter, and other times much more elaborate than the Latin. It seems that Štěpán originally wrote it in Latin, but the bilingual Latin–German version must have been created very soon after. While there are manuscript copies preserving only the Latin or only the German text, the bilingual version seems to have been the most successful one, surviving in most of the manuscripts.[36]

In more general terms, Tim William Machan notes that on the manuscript page, visual markers are used to signal rhetorical rather than linguistic categories, and thus they create a visual separation of gloss, commentary, rubric, or refrain, rather than point to a change of language. A shift of language often coincides with the rhetorical categories, but such a shift is not in itself a reason for the visual marking.[37] This leads Machan to conclude that code switching was not a controversial sociolinguistic practice in the late Middle Ages.[38]

Czech sources support this observation. Frequently even when codes are switched within one text and one rhetorical category (e.g., the gloss), there are no visual means of marking the switch at all. A curious case is the medieval translation of the Czech Postila (sermon collection) by Jan Hus into Latin. One of the two versions of the translation (Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, MS Mk 91, fol. 146r–345r)[39] includes a number of Czech words. There are, on the one hand, interlinear translation glosses, which is quite usual. On the other hand, Czech words are included within the main text. These words are, however, not those that might have been difficult for a translator, but often conjunctions or other very common words. At the same time, the manuscript copy is nicely polished – it does not seem to be a translation in progress, and there are no markers that would visually separate Latin from Czech in any way. When reading the manuscript today, it often takes a while to realize whether the word to be discerned is Czech or Latin (Figure 9.2). The Czech words here, in addition to the interlinear glosses in the upper part of the page are completely inconspicuous.[40]

Sometimes there are several languages used by one scribe within one text, within one rhetorical category, and without any visual "flagging." Do these languages have different pragmatic functions, then? Some of the Czech examples actually seem to support the nationalistic–romantic expectation to find Latin used for the official and serious parts, and the vernacular for more personal and emotional expressions (with the idea that Latin is forced on one at school, while the vernacular is closely linked to one's heart and identity). For example, there are two bilingual explicits among the manuscripts from Roudnice. In Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea, MS XII B 15, fol. 199r (Figure 9.3), the explicit is visually unified but in fact includes two languages, Latin and Czech (the Czech part underlined here, not in the manuscript):

Oretis pro fratre Petro, Petro Sacczensi, qui istum libellum scripsit licet non minimum. Explicit iste liber scriptor sit crimine liber. <u>Prosym was pro buo proste</u>

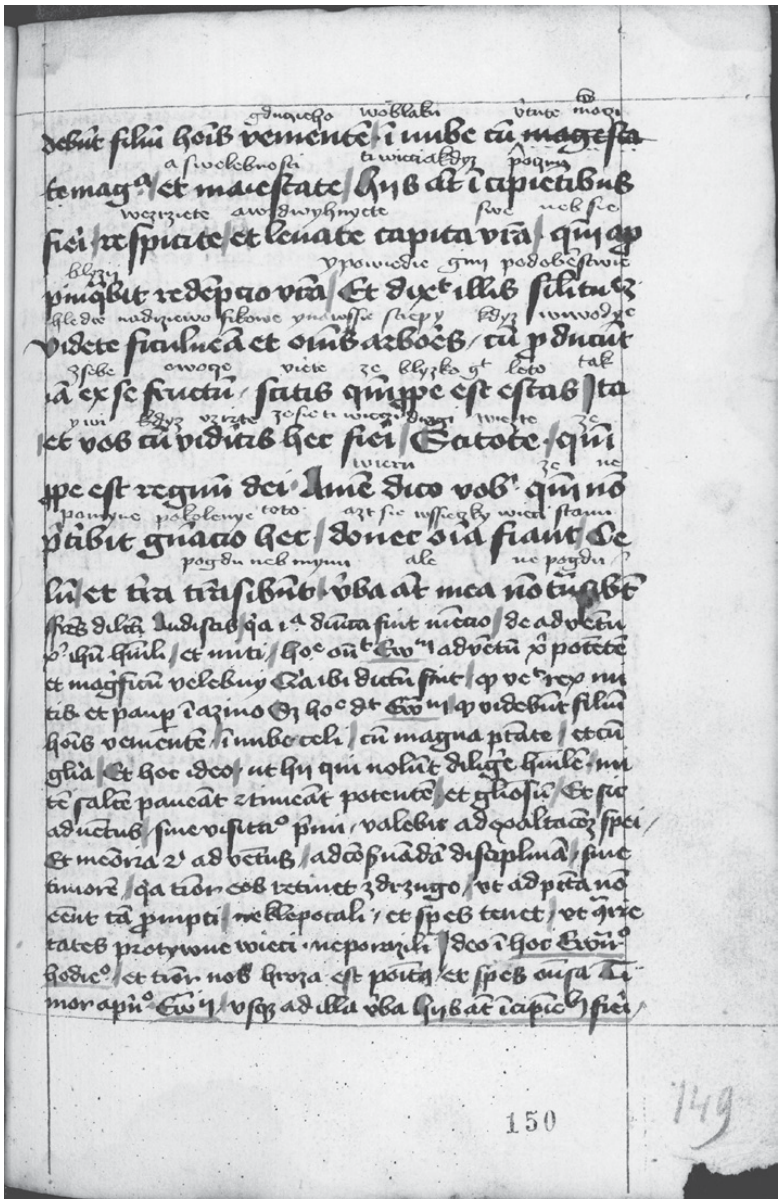


Figure 9.2. MS Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Mk 91, fol. 150r, the Latin translation of the Czech Postila by Jan Hus (d. 1415) with the Czech vernacular words interspersed. In the upper part, there are the usual interlinear translation glosses, while the lower part features Czech words without any visual markers distinguishing them from the Latin text.

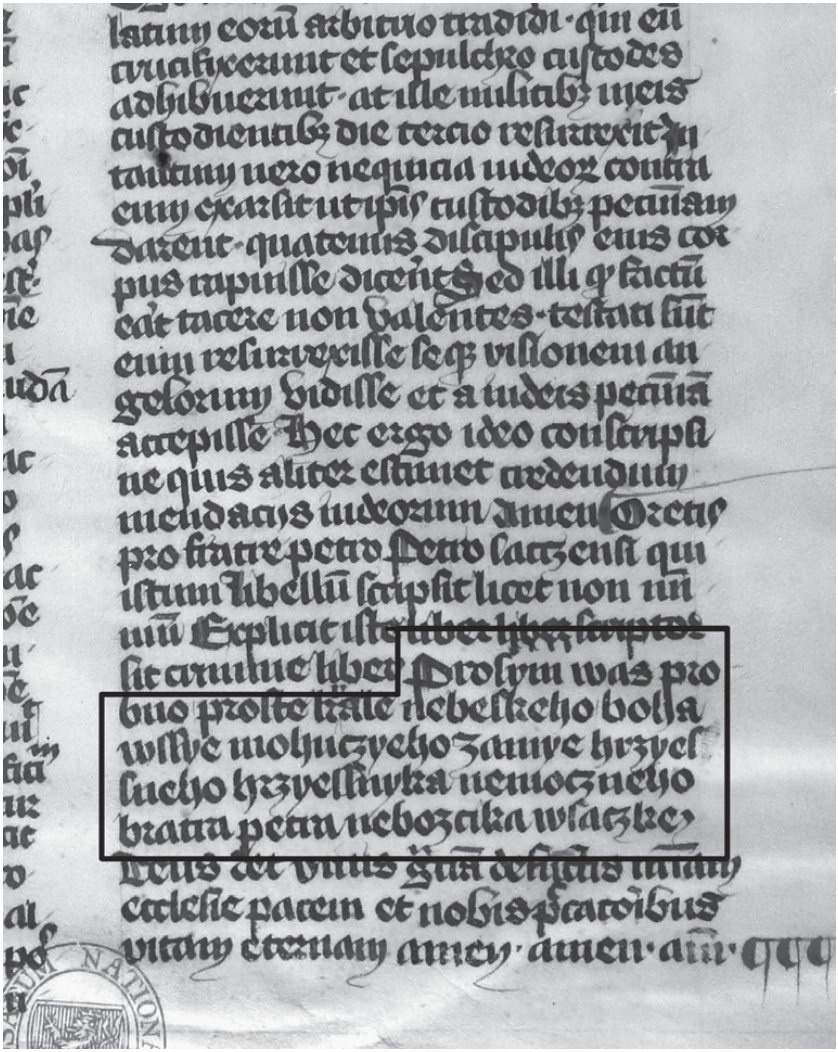


Figure 9.3. MS Prague, Knihovna národního muzea, XII B 15, fol. 199r, Latin explicit with an inserted Czech sentence (enclosed portion, not marked thus in the original).

krale nebeskeho boha wssye mohuczyeho zamye hrzyessneho hrzyessnyka nemoczneho bratra petra nebozaka w saczke. Deus det vivis graciam, defunctis misericordiam, ecclesie pacem et nobis peccatoribus vitam eternam amen. amen. amen.

Pray for brother Peter, Peter of Sadská, who wrote this book, and not a small one. This book is finished, may the scribe be free of any charges. Please, pray to the heavenly omnipotent king for me, a wicked sinner, sick brother Peter, a poor wretch in Sadská. May the one God give grace to the living, mercy to the deceased, peace to the Church, and eternal life to us sinners. Amen. Amen. Amen.

While the standard forms are in Latin, the Czech sentence gives the impression of an authentic personal exclamation.[41] Or did the scribe simply want to separate his personal request from the explicit proper by code-switching? Or to add emphasis to his exhortation? To address the readers more personally? Or could the language change have even been unconscious here? Although the Czech sentence is indeed more emotional and personal, it does not contain any new information: the appeal to the reader to pray for the scribe is expressed in Latin, too. Thus, it is possible that the scribe is attempting to emphasize his request (i.e., to be prayed for), and secure its accomplishment by appealing to a larger audience, spread among more than one linguistic competency.

Likewise, in Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea, MS XV B 6, on fol. 158r, the explicit reads:

Et illuc explicit racionale per manus Woyslavi discreti viri rectoris quondam in Usta. Anno domini MCC [lacuna] quarto ydiis mensis Junii ale bych pil nyeczo dobreho.[42]

And here ends the Racionale by the hand of Woyslav, a free man, once a rector in Ústí. The year of the Lord 12 … [a lacuna within the year], on the fourth day before the Ides of June, but I would like to drink something good.

This explicit is written in the manuscript by Václav Hanka (1791–1862). Since Hanka is the most notorious and successful Czech forger, this gloss was considered to be forged as well.[43] Yet it actually *was* included in the original manuscript, though it was partly scratched out. Hanka deciphered it and copied it beside its original place. He only changed one thing: he made the date older by putting MCC instead of the original MCCC (Figure 9.4). Again, there is no visual signal of the code-switching in the manuscript, and while the Latin provides the typical explicit formula, the Czech clause is personal.

In both of the cases above, the inclusion of the vernacular can be read not only as emotional and authentic but also as an act of improvisation: while the scribe performs his (probably repetitious) task in the

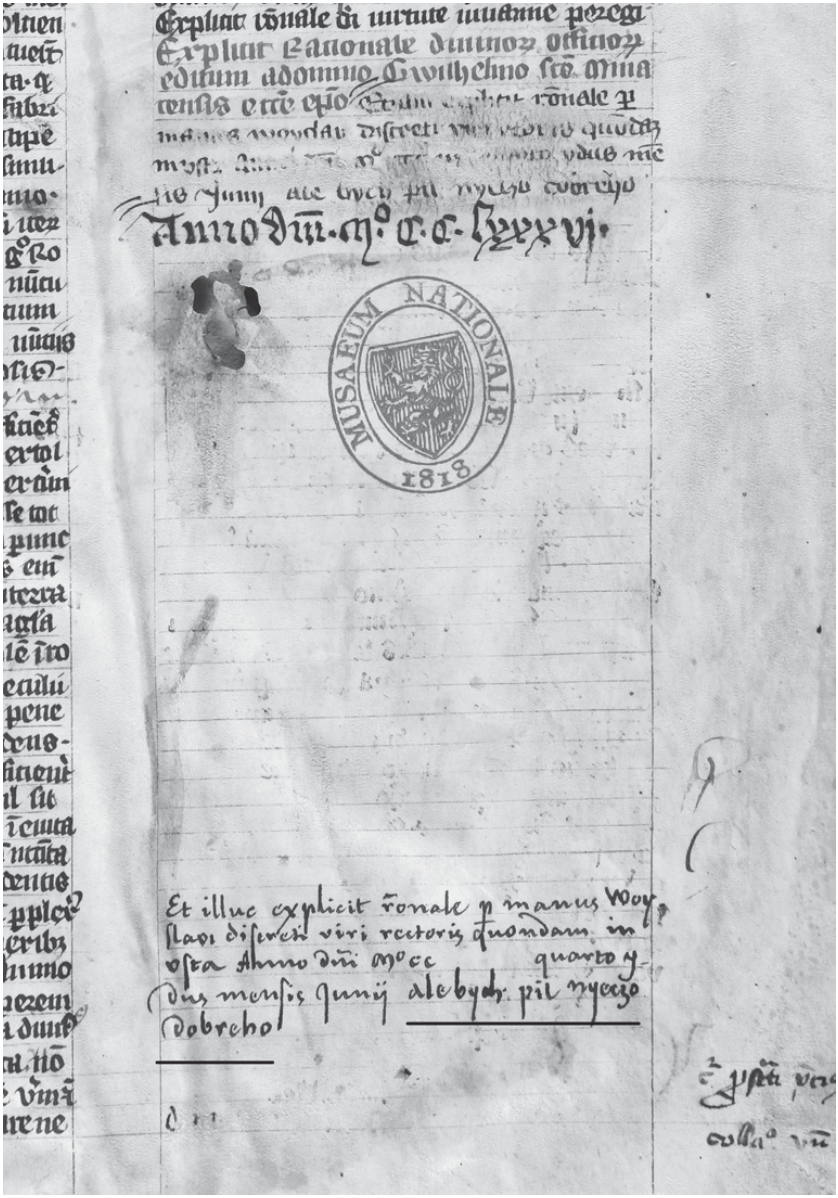



Figure 9.4. MS Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea, XV B 6, fol. 158r, the original, partly scratched out explicit, and, under it, Hanka's added explicit with the Czech words underlined (not underlined in the original).

habitual Latin, he makes the new, improvised, step for which there is no fixed formula in the vernacular. Yet a closer look at the writings of late medieval authors and scribes shows that they were often very comfortable with Latin, too, and it is impossible to set up simple dichotomies like fixed vs. improvised, serious vs. entertaining, institutional vs. personal, or emotionless vs. emotional for the code switching between Latin and vernacular in communication.

As a further demonstration, Oldřich Kříž z Telče (Ulricus Crux de Telcz, 1435–1504), Augustinian canon from Třeboň, is important for Czech culture since it is only through his copies that many Old Czech texts (especially lyric poetry and anti-Hussite polemic) have survived. He is responsible for some thirty codices.[44] But besides Czech, he copied many Latin texts, too, and when he makes personal notes and observations, he usually makes them in Latin, within his Latin explicits and elsewhere. There are many more such authors/translators/scribes/compilers in the Late Middle Ages.[45] In fact, a frequent type of late medieval codex is the personal plurilingual miscellany – a codex copied by a single scribe and primarily intended for his personal use. These manuscripts are not substantially standardized or official; they are often copied by a hasty hand and include a number of brief texts accompanied by numerous glosses (sometimes in several layers). Since they are designed for a single reader who is at the same time their author, they not only include many personal remarks but are also personalized in other ways: the language of the notes is often less literary and there is less attention to the communicability of the ideas: much remains unsaid, there are underlying assumptions and implicit statements that are difficult or impossible to recover today, etc. To us, these codices often seem random and incoherent, due precisely to the fact that they originated with the desire of a specific person in a specific place and time, with little intention to make the books accessible to others in different circumstances. Thus, although such late medieval writings (without rhetorical embellishments) may seem to reflect the minds of their authors more directly, they are in fact no more transparent to us as a result because they are not coherent and structured, but remain dependent on oral and mental aspects that are lost to us. The reasons for and the efficacy of the frequent code switching and language mixing in these codices are difficult to surmise. Yet the vernacular enters this type of manuscript very slowly: the texts and notes, personal observations, and memory aids are still written primarily in Latin throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Bohemia and Moravia.

## INTERPRETING LANGUAGE CHOICE

Tim Machan successfully challenges the traditional perspective on medieval multilingualism when he argues that speakers choose language and style in order to accomplish something and so their choice might be particular rather than global. He stresses: "barring very peculiar circumstances, speakers consciously use natural language neither to advance diachronic change nor to enact a synchronic linguistic repertoire. They speak and write because they want to accomplish some immediate sociolinguistic objective, and they choose their language and style accordingly."[46] Yet in my view, the methodological problem we inevitably face is that it is impossible to assume that the texts that came down to us were successful acts of communication. Our sources are an imprecise (if not a random) sample: there might have been other speech acts that were successful with their immediate audiences which did not make it through to later (early modern and modern) audiences. On the other hand, some of what is available to us today may include failed attempts, which have nevertheless survived in their material form by chance. Finally, there are cases that are difficult to judge – texts that are baffling to us but might have been clear to their original audience and only became obscure with the passing of time and changes to the sociocultural situation. We are never completely able to define the communicative situation in which they would act as successful communication acts.

The use of obscure language often gives rise to conspiracy theories, ideas of intentionally limited audiences for secret messages. Such is the case, for example, with a supposedly Czech sentence that appears, among other places, on fol. 33r of the second volume of the Wenceslas Bible (Wenzelbibel, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Pal. lat. 2760), a richly illuminated German translation of the Bible in six volumes made for Wenceslas IV probably in 1389.[47] The Czech sentence, "toho bzde toho" on a band held by a female barber ("lazebnice" – a frequent motif in the Wenzelbibel) does not have a clear meaning and has been interpreted in a variety of ways. It is usually seen in connection with the complex and enigmatic system of other of Wenceslas's emblems including the torse ("točenice") and kingfisher. It was suggested that it might mean something like "this one will belong to that one,"[48] or that it is some crude sexual allusion ("this one will have intercourse with that one"). The fact that it seems to be Czech is often perceived as a special kind of encoding that limits the number of those who would understand it. However, this "intrusion" of the Czech language (if it is Czech) into a German text,

although it is striking and enigmatic today, might have been completely clear and plain for its original audience. At the same time, obscurity was indeed sometimes used for the sake of obscurity (i.e., aiming to confuse the readers, or the allure of the esoteric) already in the Middle Ages, so it is impossible to assume that the readers would have understood every part of a text.[49]

When studied within the context of the material text, the entry of the vernaculars into medieval written culture as well as their coexistence alongside Latin and other sacred languages during the later Middle Ages appear to be more smooth and less problematic than was considered to be the case until recently. Vernaculars do not always seem to struggle; they usually do not bring about experiments on the page, and thus the use of different languages is rarely discernible in the visual aspects of manuscripts. Although medieval manuscripts necessarily offer insights into only a tiny part of medieval communication, the material approach is far from exhausted and there are many manuscripts – especially Latin ones – waiting to be studied and to complement our still biased picture of medieval written multilingual communication.

## NOTES

1 Research leading to this study was supported by two Charles University Research Development Programs: "University Centre for the Study of Ancient and Medieval Intellectual Traditions" and "Phenomenology and Semiotics" (PRVOUK 18) both undertaken at the Faculty of Humanities. I am grateful to Michael van Dussen, Pavlína Rychterová, Michal Dragoun, Jan Odstrčilík, Richard Šípek and Adéla Ebersonová for their help.

2 Šlejhar, *Dějiny literatury české*, 6–7 (my translation).

3 The research into medieval multilingualism in the Czech lands is still nascent. There are very few studies, and they remain quite general: Adamska, "Latin and three vernaculars"; Skála, "Vznik a vývoj"; Hlaváček, "Dreisprachigkeit im Bereich der Bohmischen Krone."

4 These texts are the works of two brothers, Constantine (Cyril) and Methodius, who were invited to Moravia from Thessaloniki in order to Christianize the people in a language they would understand. These works are written in an adaptation of Glagolitic script invented by Cyril. The Proglas is a very energetic appeal to read (it says, for example, "naked are the nations without books"). There are several scholars who maintain the view that Old Church Slavonic culture was continuously maintained throughout the region, e.g., in the Sázava monastery, but clear proof is missing.

5 Thus, chronicles and hagiography on Czech saints in particular became part of the narrative, e.g. the oldest surviving narrative of the history of the Czechs, *Chronica Boemorum* of Cosmas of Prague (d. 1125), written in Latin

but containing Czech history starting with the mythical past. (English translation by Wolverton, *Chronicle of the Czechs*.) A current secondary-school textbook on the history of literature states that the existence of this text evidences the "temporary victory of the Latin culture" over the Czech culture in the area. Balajka, *Přehledné dějiny literatury*, vol. 1, 28 (first published in 1970, and reprinted a number of times since).

6 In the same vein, Robert M. Stein, in his study of multilingualism in England in the High Middle Ages, argues that the nineteenth-century nationalistic perspectives that have shaped philology and medieval studies have also led to our wrong understanding of medieval multilingualism. Stein, "Multilingualism."

7 Šmahel, *Idea národa*, 253.

8 Hus, "Výklad Viery, Desatera a Páteře," 147. See also, e.g., Rychterová, "*Gens, nacio, communitas*." Rychterová also shows the social and political impact of the use of language by Hus and the way it mobilized quickly and effectively a huge part of the population of the Czech lands during the first decades of the fifteenth century.

9 See, e.g., Machan, "Medieval multilingualism."

10 Lüdi, "56. Mehrsprachigkeit und Interferenzen," 423.

11 See, e.g., Tyler, *Conceptualizing multilingualism*; Ranković et al., *Along the oral-written continuum*; Machan, "Language contact"; Salter and Wicker, *Vernacularity in England and Wales*; von Moos, *Zwischen Babel und Pfingsten*; Amsler, *Affective literacies*; Kleinhenz and Busby, *Medieval multilingualism.*

12 See, e.g., Voigts, "What's the word?," where, discussing vernacularization of science and medicine, she stresses: "we must not bring modern assumptions about the integrity of monolingual texts to these late-fourteenth- and fifteenth-century English writings. If we do so, we will fail to understand the bilingual culture that produced nearly half of the scientific and medical manuscripts that survive from this period (1375–1500), and we will overlook the variety of ways in which this bilingual culture exploited the linguistic resources of the two languages" (823). See also Crone, *Pre-industrial societies* and Grévin, *Le Parchemin des cieux.*

13 Stein, "Multilingualism," 29 and 31.

14 Recent notable exceptions are, e.g., Jiroušková, *Die Visio Pauli*, or Simek, *Die "Acht Seligkeiten."*

15 Cf. Veltrusky, *Sacred farce*. See also Bažil, "*In theutonico eadem sunt.*"

16 The debate is summarized in Černý, *Staročeský Mastičkář*, 27–76.

17 The practice has been studied especially in the context of sermons; see, among many others, Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres*, or Anderson, *Constructing the medieval sermon*.

18 *Vocabula exponere vulgariter secundum precisas significaciones suas non expedit propter ineptitudinem vulgarem, sed expone secundum competentem resonanciam vulgi* ("It is not profitable to translate words in the vernacular according to their precise meanings because of the ineptness of the vernacular. So translate them according to what the people are able to grasp"; Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, MS M I 357, fol. 67v). The treatise is on fols. 38r–84r, the set of advice

on preaching in vernacular on fols. 67r–68v. An edition of the text is being prepared by Jan Odstrčilík.

19 In a strict sense, orality excludes literacy. True oral societies are those that do not depend on writing and oral written transmission follows completely different rules. Speaking of orality within literate societies, such as that of later medieval Europe, we speak rather of various levels of literacy, types of textuality, and aspects of oral communication (such as intonation, gesture, or facial expression) that are not part of written communication, than of orality per se. Some genres are dependent on oral delivery for their meaning. In this way, their survival in a written form is always found lacking, as we always have less than we would need. In my view, no safe and coherent methodology has been established (or can be established) to reconstruct the oral forms on the basis of written texts, and thus the arguments often remain circular.

20 Milde, "Handschrift," vol. III, 352. For consideration of the survival rates, see also Buringh, *Medieval manuscript production*; Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift.*

21 Stotz, "Normgebundenheit."

22 See, e.g., an excellent study applying postcolonial literary theory to the situation and practices of medieval Latin: Stella, " 'Postcolonial' approach."

23 This is a unique and precious source for defining national identity in medieval Bohemia. However, the actual social impact of this rule is not clear: the rule was abolished in 1349, and it has in fact never been ascertained whether it was actually followed.

24 See, e.g., Kadlec, "Raudnitz."

25 Although ownership statements have often been erased or cut out, many of the codices have kept their original bindings, on which the original shelf marks have survived (in fact, there were three consecutive systems of shelf marks and several of the codices have all three). Dragoun, "Signatury a vlastnické záznamy," 27–60.

26 Symes, "Manuscript matrix, modern canon," 20. She uses an apt example of the *Beowulf* manuscript to show this point.

27 Of course, a scribe might have copied a text in a language he did not know. This will not necessarily be apparent in a manuscript.

28 For example, Watkins in her "Romances of the British Library," persuasively shows that it was probably only Sir Robert Cotton (1586–1631) who was responsible for the multilingual contents of Cotton Vitellius D.III by having bound together originally independent texts.

29 However, individual silent reading was clearly not the only practice. There was viva voce translation for otherwise uncomprehending audiences, as well as other possible oral–aural situations, but that is unfortunately only rarely reflected in the manuscripts themselves.

30 Symes, "Manuscript matrix, modern canon," 18.

31 Also students' vernacular notes handwritten into printed schoolbooks during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries tend to be surprisingly unified – the

teachers must often have dictated them; see, e.g., Compère, Couzinet, and Pédeflous, "Éléments pour l'histoire."

32 This is the case of, e.g., the so called Velislav Bible (*Biblia picta Velislai*), a Latin biblical "comic" from mid-fourteenth-century Bohemia, which contains later Latin, Czech (late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century), and German (seventeenth-century) glosses, and thus, through its reception, comes to include all the three languages used in the area. Prague, Národní knihovna, MS XXIII C 124; the whole manuscript is digitized and freely accessible through www.manuscriptorium.com.

33 Cf. Minnis, *Medieval theory of authorship*; Minnis and Johnson, *Cambridge history of literary criticism.*

34 See, e.g., Huizenga, "Unintended signatures," esp. 430, or Pahta, "Code-switching."

35 Prague, Národní knihovna, MS III.D.16, fols. 8r–71v. The manuscript is digitized and freely accessible through www.manuscriptorium.com.

36 Cf. Spunar, *Repertorium auctorum Bohemorum*, vol. 1, 88–9. In the Roudnice manuscript, just like in several others, the bilingual nature is reflected in the explicit (*Explicit Confessionale bonum scriptum seu compilatum duobus ydyomatibus scilicet latino et theutunico continens multas bonas et diversas materias*. "The good confessional ends here, written or compiled in two languages, namely Latin and German, containing many useful and diverse matters," fol. 71v).

37 Of course, languages that are written down in a different alphabet are separated in a visual way. Thus, the use of Hebrew, Greek, or Arabic is naturally flagged. See, e.g., Olszowy-Schlanger and Grondeux, *Dictionnaire hébreu–latin–français.*

38 Machan, "Visual pragmatics."

39 The manuscript is fully digitized and freely accessible through www.manuscriptorium.com.

40 The text on the folio reads (I have placed Czech words in italics): "Fratres dilecti, audistis, quia illa dominica fuit mencio de adventu Christi Iesu humili et miti, hodie ostendit ewangelium adventum Christi potentem et magnificum *velebny*. Quia ibi dictum fuit, quod venit rex mitis et pauper in azino. Sed hodie dicit ewangelium, quod videbunt filium hominis venientem in nube celi cum magna potestate et cum gloria. Et hoc ideo, ut hii qui nolunt diligere humilem, mitem saltem paveant et timeant potentem et gloriosum. Et sic adventus sive visitacio primi valebit ad exaltacionem spei. Et memoria secundi adventus ad conservandam disciplinam, sive timorem, quia timor eos retinet *zdrzuge*, ut ad peccata non esset tam prompti, *neklepotali*, et spes tenet, ut contrarietates *protywne wieci neporazili*. Ideo in hoc ewangelio hodierno et timor nos, *hroza* est postius et spes ostensa." The transcription was made by Jan Odstrčilík, who is currently editing this text.

41 The word "authentic" is used here in its commonsense meaning, unlike the way Christopher Baswell (for example) uses it in his "Multilingualism on the page."
42 Cf. also Kristen, "Písařské přípisky," 60.
43 Hanka's falsified glosses and additions appear throughout the manuscripts held in the Library of the National Museum in Prague. He is also the most likely falsifier of two "Old Czech" manuscripts, Rukopis královédvorský (i.e., "manuscript from Králův Dvůr," supposedly from the thirteenth century) and Rukopis zelenohorský (i.e., "manuscript from Zelená Hora," supposedly from the eighth–tenth century). Both of these manuscripts include highly nationalistic and pro-Slavic texts, presenting Czech written culture as stemming from a rich tradition with no German influences. The controversy over their authenticity (in Czech "spor o rukopisy" – dispute over manuscripts) has occupied Czech intellectuals until 1968 (and there is still an active society that maintains that they are authentic).
44 Kadlec, "Oldřich Kříž z Telče."
45 For example, the Benedictine monk Johannes Sintram from Melk (cf. Rivers, "Creating the memory of God"); or the wandering monk Gallus Kemli from St. Gall, cf. Doležalová, "Multiple copying"; or Andreas Ritter (1440–80), cf. Honemann, "Zu Leben und Werk."
46 Machan, "Medieval multilingualism," 23.
47 The manuscript image is freely accessible through www.bildarchivaustria.at (as no. 5036117).
48 Krása, *Die Handschriften.*
49 Cf., e.g., Doležalová, Rider, and Zironi, *Obscurity in medieval texts*.

CHAPTER 10

# *Miscellaneity and variance in the medieval book*

*Arthur Bahr*

Miscellaneity and variance have informed thinking about medieval books for decades, at least since Bernard Cerquiligni's eloquent "praise of the variant,"[1] the related development of the New Philology,[2] and the publication, which began around the same time and has continued apace, of a host of studies of particular manuscript miscellanies and the cultural conditions that produced them.[3] As modern constructs, however, "miscellany" and "variance" may misrepresent how most medieval readers perceived and engaged with their books. A manuscript whose contents and organization appear miscellaneous today may have appeared coherent or at least unproblematic to its original audience, for example, while readers without access to multiple copies of the same text presumably would not have perceived that "joyful excess" of variance across manuscript versions that Cerquiligni praises as the essence of medieval literature.[4] As used today, then, terms like miscellaneity and variance are partly products of the distance between the past and the present.

This is not to say that they are unhelpfully anachronistic impositions. As Ralph Hanna has shown, many vernacular manuscripts, in particular, were subject to ad hoc production practices that yielded a "miscellaneous, not to say random, appearance,"[5] while Chaucer's famous "Adam Scriveyn" lyric is, explicitly at least, an attempt to stabilize the text and so prevent the creation of precisely that textual variance that Cerquiglini praises. I emphasize the temporal and cultural distance across which we perceive our objects of study, however, because it creates space in which to find new ways of reading and appreciating them.[6] In this chapter, I first propose that the range of modern theoretical approaches to manuscript culture is itself a form of variance, which is valuable both as a reflection of the multifaceted nature of medieval books and as a way of forging hybrid methodologies with which to interpret such books anew. I then use several apparently miscellaneous texts from a famous Middle English miscellany to illustrate the benefits of such a blended approach. I close by

analyzing the discourse of textual scholarship in which Cerquiglini's theory of variance participates, arguing that like "miscellaneous" texts and the miscellanies in which they appear, textual variants are interpretively exciting precisely because they resist our attempts to reduce them to a single meaning, cause, or effect.

I begin by proposing that "miscellany" offers a practical way of designating a multi-text manuscript book whose contents exhibit a substantial degree of variety (of languages, genres, authors, literary forms, etc.) and whose variety, in turn, creates some degree of unwieldiness for modern readers. Any concept used to establish a miscellany as such must be subjective, however, whether mine of "unwieldiness" or the "arbitrariness" suggested by Theo Stemmler.[7] Miscellaneity is therefore most useful as a provocation to further investigation and new modes of reading, rather than as an objective designation that, as Carter Revard has observed, implies a degree of preemptive intellectual surrender.[8] With that in mind, I offer a second working definition of a miscellany to complement the one above: a complex assemblage of textual parts that does not obligingly present readers with a clear program or straightforward purpose, and which different readers are therefore likely to perceive in meaningfully different ways.

These definitions evoke two contrasting analytic modes – one more descriptive and objective, the other more interpretive and speculative – each of which has informed scholarly approaches to the subjects of this chapter. Cerquiglini's model is poststructuralist. His delectation in the "joyful appropriation of the signifying nature suited to the written word," as manifest in "the endless textual variance offered by the manuscripts," becomes an erotics of reading.[9] His volume might as easily have been called *Le plaisir de la variante*, in a nod to Barthes. This is a world away from Wendy Scase's praise – equally vigorous but markedly different in tone – of "research programme[s] organized around questions to which answers can be right or wrong," which she argues "reflect renewed confidence in empirical research."[10]

As it pertains to medieval books, then, "variance" itself has various meanings. It is a feature of particular manuscript miscellanies, which tend to boast a wide, even daunting variety of contents. It is also a phenomenon observable across medieval manuscripts: the *variance* praised by Cerquiglini is a way of conceptualizing the enormous range of textual variants to be found in the manuscripts of a well-attested work like the *Canterbury tales* or the *Roman de la rose*. The wide range of contemporary methodological and theoretical approaches to medieval books, exemplified

above by Cerquiglini and Scase, constitutes yet another form of variance, which valuably reflects the kaleidoscopic vibrancy of medieval book culture.[11] I believe that we should hold onto this last, methodological form of variance, drawing on and valuing both Scase's confident empiricism and Cerquiglini's joyous freeplay (by way of example only; many others could obviously be adduced).

In support of this proposition, I will analyze a series of mostly short, mostly neglected texts from booklets 8 and 9 of the famous Auchinleck Manuscript, now Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS 19.2.1. Many of these texts initially look like so-called "filler," short pieces included to round out the ends of booklets or gatherings and generally assumed to be peripheral to the functions, both historical and artistic, of the manuscript as a whole.[12] Yet by combining the empiricism praised by Scase (here, our knowledge of Auchinleck's principal scribe, the booklet structure of the manuscript, and its audience of 1330s Londoners)[13] with versions of Cerquiglini's poststructuralism, these unprepossessing and apparently "miscellaneous" texts become far more compelling. They thereby show how a comparably "variant" methodology might resonate in other neglected texts and manuscripts from across our vast chronological and geographical field of study.

Booklet 8 of Auchinleck has been severely damaged but originally had the "top-heavy" structure that Ralph Hanna has identified as typical of the manuscript: a long initial text (sometimes two), followed by much shorter pieces near the end of the booklet.[14] In this case, we have the romance *King Alisuander* (fols. 278r–279r; almost wholly lost in Auchinleck, but as attested elsewhere just over 8,000 lines long), "The thrush and the nightingale," a debate poem about the virtues or vices of women (279v; also fragmentary here but elsewhere 192 lines), "The sayings of St. Bernard," a brief series of *ubi sunt*-style reflections (280r; 42 lines), and "David þe Kyng," a versified translation of the famous Miserere Psalm (280r; 98 lines). Given Auchinleck's focus on long romances (earlier booklets include *Beues of Hamptoun*, stanzaic and couplet versions of *Guy of Warwick*, and *Of Arthour and of Merlin*), the presence of *Kyng Alisaunder* makes immediate sense in the manuscript as a whole. The remaining texts of booklet 8, however, are extremely short (their combined length is less than 5 percent that of the preceding romance) and have little obvious in common either with one another or with the far longer poem that precedes them. This portion of the manuscript thus appears to fit Stemmler's characterization of a miscellany: "a somewhat arbitrary, casual collection of texts."[15]

One subtle encouragement to read them as something more than that comes from "David þe Kyng," which presents the first words of each verse of the psalm in Latin before expanding that verse into either four or six lines of Middle English. This is one of just two tiny exceptions to Auchinleck's striking Englishness, which has been one of the chief sources of the manuscript's fame. For this very reason, "David þe Kyng" might seem especially miscellaneous, in the sense of random and therefore uninterpretable. Paul Strohm's concept of a textual unconscious (which is clearly indebted to Freud, Jameson, and others) helpfully counterbalances such an assumption; it posits that texts are characterized by silences, gaps, and repressions, all of which offer fertile ground for analysis.[16] Comparably, Ralph Hanna has argued that "history is not to be found initially in 'the genuinely authorial' but only through what is 'inauthentic,' 'not genuine.' "[17] Although their theoretical models and choice of materials differ substantially, then, both Strohm and Hanna argue for the significance of the unusual, the outlier. Adapting and synthesizing their approaches, we might describe Auchinleck's all but explicit investment in English as the salient element of its "codicological conscious," which makes "David þe Kyng" a multilingual slip whose potential significance is first suggested by how atypical it is within the broader context of the manuscript.

Examining the text further, we find that elements of its *mise-en-page* also suggest that we should take it more seriously than we generally have. In the first place, it receives an unusually eye-catching decorative scheme: large blue initials with red decoration, extensive pen flourishes to the left of the text, and rubrication for each piece of Latin.[18] The cumulative effect is far more elaborate than that of "The sayings of Saint Bernard" in the left column, which features simply alternating red and blue paraph marks. That minimalist treatment is much more typical of Auchinleck's texts, even the massive romances (like *Kyng Alisaunder*, which once spearheaded the booklet) that make up the bulk of the manuscript.

Of course, it is not inherently surprising that a translated Psalm text would include rubricated Latin or decorated initials; those features are noteworthy here because they depart from Auchinleck's broader linguistic and codicological practice. They are *significant*, I argue, because they prompt us to linger over a text that we might otherwise dismiss as just one miscellaneous element of a larger miscellany. In so doing, we notice that by naming this text "David þe Kyng," the scribe has highlighted a connection between the last poem of booklet 8 and its first, *Kyng Alisaunder*, whose hero – like David – was not just a king but also one of the famous Nine Worthies. That connection may inspire us to consider the intervening

texts more closely, and there we find another reference to Alexander in these lines that the thrush utters in condemnation of women:

> Þei þai ben fair & bri3t in hewe,
> Þai ben fals fikel vntrewe
> & worcheþ wo in ich lond.
> King Alisaunder meneþ him of hem;
> In þe world nis non so crafti men
> No non so riche of lond.[19]

"The sayings of Saint Bernard" includes no comparably direct references to its surrounding texts, but its presentation of *ubi sunt* laments is appropriate to the broader context of booklet 8, bookended as it is by the stories of two great kings brought low by hubris and mortality.

"David þe Kyng" also anticipates the first two texts of booklet 9, *Sir Tristrem* and *Sir Orfeo*, for all three of these poems either depict, or show the consequences of, royal malfeasance. This general thematic link becomes substantially more pointed when we recall King David's widespread iconographic association with the harp (quite possibly represented in the poem's lost miniature),[20] for both *Sir Tristrem* and *Sir Orfeo* depict harpists whose music gains the favor of a king who either is or will come to prove antagonistic. Shortly after arriving at Mark's court, for example, Tristrem gains privileged access to the king by besting his harper in an impromptu competition; later, about halfway through the poem, a different harper arrives from Ireland and persuades Mark to promise him anything he wants in return for his playing. Mark foolishly agrees, the harper demands Ysonde, and Mark, after considering his options, decides to keep his word. (She is subsequently rescued by Tristrem.) A nearly identical scene takes place in *Sir Orfeo*, after the fairy king is so enchanted by Orfeo's playing that he offers his guest whatever he wants, and Orfeo asks for the return of his wife: like Mark, the fairy king reluctantly agrees to honor his promise.

Harping is not explicitly mentioned in "David þe Kyng," but besides its familiar iconographic association with David and the Psalms in the Middle Ages, the instrument is central to David's early rise to prominence in his predecessor Saul's court. After withdrawing His favor from Saul, God periodically sends an evil spirit to torment the king, and "it came to pass, when the evil spirit from God was upon Saul, that David took a harp, and played with his hand: so Saul was refreshed, and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him" (1 Samuel 16:23). But after David's victory over Goliath on Saul's behalf – a proxy combat that parallels

Tristrem's defeat of the Irish champion Moraunt on behalf of Mark – Saul becomes jealous and fearful of David's popularity, asking himself, "Now what more can he have but the kingdom?" (1 Samuel 18:9). This specter of a royal succession outside of hereditary norms (for Saul has sons of his own) anticipates without precisely paralleling the situation in *Sir Tristrem*, where Mark's barons resist their king's desire to have the hero succeed him, and in *Sir Orfeo*, where, after returning triumphant from the fairy king's court, Orfeo declares that his kingdom will pass to his loyal steward rather than to any sons he may have.

We should recall, moreover, that the elements of David's historical narrative that most align him with *Sir Tristrem* and *Sir Orfeo* – his playing before and consequent favor from an antagonistic royal figure – precede the events that prompted "David þe Kyng," which is a lyric expression of penitence for his later adultery with Bathsheba and betrayal of Uriah. Royal misbehavior was a resonant theme for Auchinleck's original audience of prosperous London citizens, who were still reeling from the chaotic misrule of Edward II. Those dark days are referred to explicitly by other texts in the manuscript, such as "The sayings of the four philosophers" and "The simonie." The sequence of texts considered here makes a subtler and still more cautionary point, for by evoking both David's youthful promise and his subsequent offenses, they emphasize that the fall from grace and punishment of God's anointed is an all too recurrent historical phenomenon: as Samuel rebuked Saul, so too would Nathan rebuke David. The recently crowned Edward III may therefore be an improvement on his father, but like Alexander, David, and all other royal figures, he will ultimately prove both fallible and mortal; only the humility and repentance expressed in "David þe Kyng" will avail him, or indeed anyone else.

Read as I have here, "David þe Kyng" is no longer just a small, booklet-concluding piece of miscellaneous filler, but also central to a larger exploration of the practice and ethics of royal power, made additionally legible by the more specific recurring motif of harping. This type of argument – that an apparently insignificant, critically neglected text creates unacknowledged coherence in the seemingly miscellaneous collection of which it is part – has an important antecedent in Carter Revard's study of the French poem *Gilote et Johane* as it appears in London, British Library, Harley MS 2253, a trilingual manuscript from the West Midlands roughly contemporary with Auchinleck. Acknowledging that Harley 2253 "is usually called a 'miscellany' on account of its "rich variety of pieces," Revard argues that in fact it "demonstrates both a principled *selection* of items

and a principled *arrangement* of them" on the basis of contrast between mutually opposing parts.[21] As with my argument above, it is the apparent strangeness of a given text (in this case, the apparently mixed genre of *Gilote et Johane*) that prompts Revard to consider alternate, less obvious explanatory principles.

Efforts like those just described have been treated with skepticism by Derek Pearsall, who points out that because literary scholars' training as close readers gives them the tools to make such arguments, they will naturally desire to do so, not least because "[t]o acknowledge that all kinds of random factors … might have been much more important in determining what went into the miscellanies, is by contrast so negative, so dispiriting, so pusillanimous, and of course so unproductive."[22] He therefore rightly insists upon distinguishing between arguments "about reception, about what a later reader might have made of the manuscript … [and those] about the intention of the scribe-compiler."[23] Many arguments about the design of medieval miscellanies posit a tension between literary sensitivity and practical expediency. Thus Ralph Hanna sees an "oscillation between the planned and the random" in the construction of many vernacular miscellanies; he identifies a unifying homiletic "desire" at work in Winchester, Winchester College, MS 33, for example, but argues that its "thematic texts … form only a core to the book" and that "this core never thoroughly programmed contents and production."[24] Margaret Connolly, meanwhile, argues that the persistent copying of much earlier texts in fourteenth-century miscellanies suggests that these "products of earlier literary traditions were still valued and respected, and/or that raw textual materials were in short supply."[25]

As Connolly's equivocation suggests, the intentions animating a given manuscript are rarely securely identifiable, but where traces of intentionality can be discerned, they are often interpretively valuable. For example, the fact that Auchinleck's construction appears to have been superintended by a single figure, the so-called Scribe 1 who has persuasively been termed the project's editor,[26] is both a matter of literary-historical interest and offers new ways of asking long-standing questions about the nature of authors and the significance of authorial intent to the interpretation of art. Is textual curation like Scribe 1's tantamount to authorship, for example? Revard suggests that it is, for at several points he compares the scribe of Harley 2253 to Chaucer, and the manuscript itself to the *Canterbury tales*.[27] I have also argued elsewhere that the interplay of texts within a manuscript can constitute a form of literary art, in that their selection and arrangement offer "poetic" forms of interpretive potential even if the texts

themselves seem aesthetically feeble when apprehended individually.[28] The significance of such codicological interactions is not dependent upon or reducible to the conscious, recoverable intentions of their creator(s), any more than authorial intent straightforwardly circumscribes a text's aesthetic resonance. We might therefore productively de-emphasize the search for a given manuscript's "guiding intelligence," which Pearsall suggests modern readers of miscellanies have been too eager to find.[29]

Maura Nolan's analysis of Lydgate's "Tretise for lauandres," a short poem on stain removal addressed to washerwomen, is relevant here.[30] She acknowledges that in most manuscripts in which it appears, the poem seems to be part of "a generally miscellaneous aesthetic," but argues that in one, its references to stains and cleansing gain metaphorical force from its broader homiletic context; a poem that seems unintentionally silly if taken literally and in isolation ("Lydgate's worst," as her title puts it) thus "mak[es] meaning in a surprising and unexpected – and thus aestheticized – way."[31] Nolan argues that instead of worrying about intention, we should "evaluate the *effect* of the lavenders poem on readers. It is a wrench in the hermeneutic works of the sequence, an aporia into which meaning must be *inserted* and *constructed*."[32] This move usefully highlights the interactive and thus subjective quality of literary criticism, whether of texts, manuscripts, or the interaction between them. Put in more abstract terms: the temporal and cultural gaps between a medieval manuscript's construction and any modern analysis of it mean that the precise set of intentions that structured it, what we might call its center, will never be wholly or securely recoverable. Its consequently decentered structure enables wider play – here, literary interpretation – across its many constituent parts. Embracing such interpretive play does not require us to repudiate the empiricism praised by Scase; on the contrary, my example from Auchinleck shows that the data such empirical research reveals can both ground our interpretations and offer additional spurs to close reading.

What we have seen thus far suggests that miscellaneity, in the sense of (apparent) randomness, more typically characterizes individual texts or groups of texts within manuscripts than it does whole books. We might therefore use the term "miscellany" not just for the relatively small number of truly miscellaneously constructed volumes, but also for particular texts or sequences of texts within potentially more coherent manuscripts ("mini-miscellanies," as it were). Rather than dismiss such texts and sequences of texts as miscellaneous filler or bad art, we might instead analyze their effects upon hypothetical readers, medieval and modern, as influenced by the larger codicological structures in which they appear.

Such interpretations cannot be conclusive along the lines praised by Scase ("questions to which answers can be right or wrong"), but they productively restore to critical view both texts and materials that might otherwise go unacknowledged and, in that very real sense, be lost.

As the foregoing has suggested, one reason that miscellaneity, in the sense both of apparent randomness and of a wide, unwieldy variety of material, has attracted such extensive critical attention is that we naturally enjoy challenges to our analytic acuity. Another, related reason is that the capaciousness displayed by any particular miscellany makes it a bit like a Rorschach test: its complex, not immediately interpretable shape invites us to perceive and focus on our own particular interests. We can see this phenomenon at work in the very different descriptions, by Bernard Cerquiglini and Andrew Taylor, of another trilingual English miscellany, London, British Library, Harley MS 978. The manuscript interests Cerquiglini because it is the only one that contains the complete *Lais* of Marie de France; he describes it thus:

> [I]t contains the twelve lays attributed to Marie de France … but it contains also a treatise on religious music (in Latin), a Roman calendar (in Latin), the *Sept signes de mort*, the *Synonymes des plantes*, recipes for medicine, a letter from Hippocrates to Caesar, the *Isopets* of Marie de France, twenty-two Latin texts, the *Doctrinal sauvage*, the *Bestourné* of Richard, the *Mariage du père et de la mere de saint Thomas Becket*, and a treatise on falconry.[33]

This list is clearly idiosyncratic, giving titles to some works but not others, and highlighting its incompleteness by casually acknowledging its many undescribed Latin texts. Other omissions from Cerquiglini's list are equally significant: the fact that the manuscript includes musical notation, not just a treatise on music, and that at least one of its songs is in English, the famous (to Anglophones, at least) "Sumer is icumen in."

Taylor's discussion of the manuscript begins by analyzing this poem's/song's outsized role in histories of English lyric,[34] and his subsequent description conveys a very different set of interests from Cerquiglini's:

> In addition to "Sumer Is Icumen In," it contains a number of other musical texts, medical texts in Latin and Anglo-Norman, a large collection of satirical and ribald verse attributed to the mythical Golias, two laments for Thomas Becket, and a much longer celebration of the victory of Simon de Montfort at the Battle of Lewes, all in Latin, an Anglo-Norman treatise on hawking, and the lais and fables of Marie de France – to list but the chief items.[35]

This description foregrounds the manuscript's Englishness, which Cerquiglini all but ignores, by opening with the English song, describing

most of the manuscript's French as "Anglo-Norman," and emphasizing the poem about the Battle of Lewes (unmentioned by Cerquiglini), a pivotal conflict in the Barons' Wars of Henry III. These lists remind us that description is never even-handed; laying out the contours of a given miscellany (or "mini-miscellany"), giving shape to its wide variety of contents, is an inherently interpretive act.

As these dueling descriptions suggest, medieval miscellanies pose practical challenges to modern editors, since modern readers tend to think in terms of author or genre, categories to which miscellanies often do not conform. As a result, many canonical texts tend to get extracted from their manuscript contexts: consider Cerquiglini's example of the *Lais* of Marie de France, or the famous "Harley lyrics" that are in fact only a small subset, linguistically and generically, of Harley 2253. Nearly all medieval texts, however, not just those that appear in what we would call "miscellanies," require editors to grapple with a different question of miscellaneity: whether the textual differences that exist across manuscripts of the same work are accidental or substantive, miscellaneous or meaningful. I will argue that the range of theoretical approaches to these variants highlights the literary resonance of textual editing itself. In this sense, manuscript variants are akin to Auchinleck's apparently "miscellaneous" filler texts: both offer ways of finding aesthetic potential in what would appear to be the unpropitious *materia* of medieval book culture.

Cerquiglini's theory of variance proposes that we resist the temptation to impose singular, stable forms upon the "endless textual variance offered by the manuscripts" or their "infinite variability in linguistic forms."[36] This argument involves taking aim at the idealizing editorial practices of Karl Lachmann and Gaston Paris, for whom variance across manuscript copies was not "joyful excess" but rather textual corruption that it was the editor's job to remove by distilling a text's multiple manuscript witnesses into a single purified Ur-Text characterized by linguistic "regularity and perfection" (which no medieval vernacular manuscript text, save perhaps the eccentric *Ormulum*, actually displays).[37] In Cerquiglini's account, Joseph Bédier is the reluctant hero who takes on Lachmann and Paris: reluctant because he initially shared their positivist aspirations but came to believe that their method neither achieved its lofty aims nor operated as objectively as advertised.[38] Specifically, he showed that the vast majority of Old French texts edited on Lachmann's method had been given two- rather than three-branched stemmas. As a result, their editors were spared Lachmann's iron-clad rule of "two against one" in comparing variants by which, with a trifid stemma, their hands would have been tied. By

massaging the evidence, in other words, editors retained for themselves an active, interpretive role.

The still more fundamental significance of this sleight of hand was its demonstration that establishing the stemma – the all-important construct that would ensure the scientific objectivity of the edition derived from it – was not an objective activity. As Cerquiglini puts it,

> [t]his was desiring man somehow taking revenge on the machine … Bédier lets it be known that Lachmann's method … had always been circumvented by philological cunning, which had the skill to weaken the automaton, the skill, indeed, to paralyze it completely. If therefore "scientific" method was secretly undermined by desire, why persist in creating heteroclite monsters; why not go back to a "Humanist" conception of editing, conscious of one's limits and one's choices?[39]

For Bédier, the editor's principal choice consisted of deciding which manuscript offered the best version of the text and should therefore serve as the base of the edition. The editor should then approach his chosen base-text with "a spirit of self-doubt, a spirit of prudence and extreme 'conservatism,' a vigorous will – almost a bias in favor of scribes, giving them the most credit and not touching the text being published except when there is an extreme and almost obvious necessity."[40]

However preferable it might be to the positivism of Lachmann and Paris, such ascetic deference to a single manuscript leaves little room for the play, excess, and intense, even emotional engagement that Cerquiglini clearly believes medieval variance should inspire. In this respect, Cerquiglini's truer soulmate is E. Talbot Donaldson, a more energetically forthright foe of Lachmann and one whose relationship with textual variants is explicitly libidinal, as the following extended metaphor makes clear:

> A given line of Middle English poetry has, let us say, two main variant forms in the MSS; after careful analysis of the textual situation and long thought about the meaning, the editor, not unlike a bachelor choosing a bride, selects Line Form A for his text. For a time he lives in virtuous serenity, pleased with his decision. A year or more passes, and then one day it comes to him, like a bolt from the blue, that he should, of course, have chosen Line Form B; in short, he married the wrong girl.[41]

Having left Line Form A for B, Donaldson's editor ("who is the least reliable of all possible husbands") soon finds her "incompatible in a different and even more annoying way than Wife A" and wishes that he could have both of their good points with none of their flaws. Of course, "[t]he editor is uniquely privileged to be able to bring this dream-girl into existence" by

conjecturally emending the line in question, but "by now he is less illusioned about the excellence of his judgment in choosing wives, and while he likes this third one basically, he is prepared to expect that as time passes he may want to make a few changes in her."[42] For Donaldson, the erotics of the variant means that his metaphor works through the *dissimilarity* of marriage to textual editing, in that there will always be some enticing new possibility (which can be created, like the hypothetical AB, even if it does not exist) to prevent the editor from committing fully to any single reading. Even publishing the edition does not provide true closure, as Donaldson's concluding rhetorical flourish makes clear: "And at what time in his life will he [the editor] be ready to say that he is fully and permanently satisfied with his choice? Never, until he stops thinking entirely."[43]

Even when distilled into a single, published version, then, the material variants of the manuscript corpus continue to invite new readings and interpretations. They inspire intimate forms of desire in their modern handlers precisely because they are complex, difficult, and hard to pin down. Such terms evoke the characteristics valued by New Criticism, of which Donaldson was one of the twentieth century's greatest practitioners; and as Carolyn Dinshaw has shown, they are also the very things that Donaldson loved about Chaucer's enigmatic and alluring Criseyde.[44] Cerquiglini claims that medieval literature is variance; Donaldson makes his metaphor literal, and proves his point, by reading variants as literature. His essay on the manuscript and editorial variants of a single disputed line in the *Canterbury tales*, for example, proves the equal, for wit, vivacity, and sheer *plaisir du texte*, of any of his purely literary-critical essays.[45] Indeed, Lee Patterson has shown that Donaldson's approach to editing, as performed in the magisterial edition of the B-Text of *Piers Plowman* that he produced with George Kane,[46] "is to 'read' the [manuscript] evidence as a New Critic would read a poem, and to produce as a result of his labors an interpretation that is, in fact, the poem itself."[47]

As Robert Meyer-Lee has demonstrated, texts edited in this way do indeed come to resemble the transcendent verbal icon of New Criticism – problematic, one might suppose, given how thoroughly that critical practice has been dismissed as ahistorically idealizing.[48] How, then, might editions respect and represent the variance that they must nevertheless synthesize into a usable text? Cerquiglini concludes his study by proposing the computer as the utopian answer to this question. Specifically, he imagines an edition in which "medieval works would no longer be subjected to the two-dimensional and closed structure of the printed page because a diskette accommodates varied textual masses, which the reader

consults by making them appear in different ways on the computer screen." The computer's

> vast memory … allows the reader to see and consult not only the totality of the manuscripts of a particular medieval work but also the editions … which took these manuscripts as their objects. Moreover, it can provide a great many minor bits of information, which should remain virtual so they will not get in the way of reading but which one needs to be able to locate … everything that a printed edition usually abandons or from which it makes a painful choice, everything that the hyperscholarly edition hypostatizes to the point of unreadability.[49]

Such a database would indeed be an invaluable scholarly resource, as recent productions like the *Piers Plowman* electronic archive demonstrate.[50] What it would *not* be is an edition, however, for in obviating the need for "painful choice[s]" on the part of the editor, it would place the entire burden, interpretive and practical, upon the reader. Meyer-Lee's recent articulation of what such a phenomenon might look like – "various interlaced manuscript matrices, in which manuscript reproductions are linked rhyzomatically to each other and hypertextually embedded in myriad informing contexts"[51] – sounds strikingly like Cerquiglini's, but although they have been technically feasible for some time now, such databases are far from becoming our primary research and teaching tools. Our collective reluctance to adopt them should not be attributed principally to stuffy disdain for, or Luddite fear of, technological change. Rather, it suggests our recognition that traditional critical editions like the Kane–Donaldson *Piers Plowman* or *The Riverside Chaucer* are in fact immensely valuable.[52] So, consequently, is the empirical analysis necessary to produce such editions.[53] Such productive empiricism need not metastasize into dogmatic positivism. Furthermore, those who would uncritically valorize material variance as inherently deconstructive and therefore liberating would do well to heed Sarah Kay's insight "that a refusal to look beyond the material survival of the past might be neo-positivist in its latching on to factual evidence in preference to intellectual exploration."[54] Put another way, Cerquiglini's essentialist deconstructionism (paradoxical as that sounds!)[55] is twin to Lachmann's doctrinaire positivism, and both must be eschewed in order to appreciate the full variety of medieval manuscript cultures as they existed in the past and as they resonate today.

One of those cultures' relatively few unifying features is the centrality of Latin to the manuscript record, so it is striking how little Latin has figured in recent discussions of the issues explored in this essay. Scase, for example, notes that the research agenda of the essays she surveys is "shaped by the traditions of Middle English literary studies" and points

out that "vernacular manuscript production did not fit seamlessly into the structures and processes used for the production of Latin books."[56] As it relates to variance, this neglect of Latin is at least somewhat understandable.[57] Unlike vernacular languages, Latin was not still rapidly evolving and therefore not subject to the same degree of regional dialectical differences; its linguistic forms simply varied less, which was the basis of Cerquiglini's essentialist valorization of the vernacular. But Latin features prominently in many manuscripts often described as miscellanies, such as the multilingual Harley 978 discussed above, and Siegfried Wenzel's analysis of Latin sermon collections demonstrates that ad hoc selection principles, and consequent miscellaneity of contents, are well attested even in thoroughly Latin and clerical manuscripts.[58]

Like many of the challenges facing medieval studies more broadly, the relative neglect of Latin in the contexts explored here has its roots in the institutional structures of the modern university, which do not reflect – to put it mildly – the realities of medieval culture. Latin today is taught and studied almost exclusively in Classics departments, which still tend to regard the Middle Ages with disdain (if at all) and which have in any event been a waning force in academia for decades. Likewise, the nature of the national language-based departments in which many of us work makes it unsurprising that a recent volume on English book production, written mostly by (and for) professors of English, should concentrate on "manuscripts of the major Middle English poets,"[59] however little that focus may reflect the totality of medieval England's manuscript corpus. The widespread institutional separation of literature, history, art, and religion into distinct departments, meanwhile, ignores the fact that many, perhaps most, medieval manuscripts require their modern commentators to have at least a basic grounding in all of those disciplines.

The preceding sounds like yet another call for interdisciplinary collaboration among medievalists, and such calls are, indeed, always worth sounding. Happily, such collaborations have increased considerably in recent years. The welcome diversity of contributors to this volume is part of a broader trend also observable, on a much larger scale, in the cluster of research projects in digital manuscript studies overseen by Alexandra Gillespie and Stephen G. Nichols and undertaken by a vibrantly international team of scholars.[60] These projects address topics as various as paleographical cruxes in Old English manuscripts; the musical and poetic manuscripts of Guillaume de Machaut; the Elizabethan scholars and secretaries who worked with Archbishop Matthew Parker's hugely important

collection of medieval books; and the patterns of transmission of particular widely diffused Latin texts used especially by preachers.

Such collaborations are immensely exciting, but I would suggest in closing that we be even more entrepreneurial by reaching out, and forward, to scholars working in later periods. How might Sharon Cameron's analysis of authorial variants in the manuscripts of Emily Dickinson resonate for medievalists?[61] What might we learn from, or teach, the organizers of the Digital miscellanies index,[62] which catalogues and studies eighteenth-century English miscellanies? How might an experimental work like N. Katherine Hayles's *Writing machines*,[63] which argues for media-specific analysis of twentieth-century literary forms, denaturalize and so sharpen our appreciation of the medieval media that we more usually study? Such investigations should be approached with caution: just as interdisciplinary inquiry is most powerful when grounded by a robust sense of one's own disciplinary integrity, so too, cross-period explorations of the sort I propose here should not be allowed to descend into a barely historicized and loosely thematic dilettantism. But ranging widely in these and other ways seems true to, and thus also an avenue for understanding, the compellingly daunting forms of variance displayed by medieval books, and the miscellaneity of medieval manuscript cultures, writ large.

## NOTES

1 Cerquiglini, *In praise of the variant*. For the original edition, see Cerquiglini, *Eloge de la variante*. Cerquiglini's notion of *variance* is indebted to Paul Zumthor's concept of *mouvance* (articulated in his *Essai de poétique médiévale*, 64–74) but is not, as is sometimes suggested, reducible to it, inasmuch as Zumthor emphasizes the orality of medieval culture while Cerquiglini concentrates on the written text.

2 See Nichols, "Introduction." For an overview of the fierce scholarly debates that this movement inspired, see Kay, "Analytical survey 3."

3 This work can be divided into in-depth studies of specific manuscripts and more wide-ranging treatments of countries, periods, and theoretical issues. In the first category, Pearsall, *Studies in the Vernon manuscript* was an early path-setter; subsequent volumes on a similar model include Bell and Couch, *Texts and contexts*; Fein, *Studies in the Harley manuscript*; and Scase, *Making of the Vernon manuscript*. In the second category, important collections include Echard and Partridge, *Book unbound*; S. Kelly and Thompson, *Imagining the book*; Nichols and Wenzel, *Whole book*; and Wilcox, *Scraped, stroked, and bound*. Contributions to other, more synoptically focused collections are also relevant to the topics I address here; these include Boffey and Thompson, "Anthologies and miscellanies" and Connolly, "Compiling the book."

4 Cerquiglini, *In praise of the variant*, 21.
5 Hanna, "Miscellaneity and vernacularity," 47.
6 See further Nolan, "Making the aesthetic turn."
7 Stemmler, "Miscellany or anthology?" Reprinted in Fein, *Studies in the Harley manuscript*. Stemmler argues that "Harley 2253 is neither a miscellany – a somewhat arbitrary, casual collection of texts – nor a well-wrought book carefully made up of mutually corresponding parts. Rather, it is an anthology, a careful collection selected as representative specimens of various genres" (113: hereafter, all citations of Stemmler's essay will be from the reprinted version). On anthologies, see further Lerer, "Medieval English literature."
8 "[T]he term itself seems to excuse attempting the question why any particular work, or genre, should be included in the manuscript" (Revard, "*Gilote et Johane*," 127).
9 Cerquiglini, *In praise of the variant*, 33, 58.
10 Scase, "Afterword," 293.
11 This variance can be seen as well in the range of terms used to describe medieval books: not just the *miscellanies* and *anthologies* of Anglo-American scholarship but also the *receuils* and *florilèges* that have been the subject of important studies by French medievalists, such as Azzam, Collet, and Foehr-Janssens, "Manuscrits littéraires français" and Cerquiglini-Toulet, "Quand la voix s'est tue."
12 On booklets as an important codicological feature of many manuscripts, see Robinson, "The 'booklet,'" Hanna, "Booklets in medieval manuscripts," and Kwakkel, "Late medieval text collections."
13 For this dating and provenance, see Shonk, "Study of the Auchinleck manuscript."
14 Hanna, *London literature*, 76.
15 Stemmler, "Miscellany or anthology?," 113.
16 Strohm, *Theory and the premodern text*, xi–xvi, 165–81.
17 Hanna, *Pursuing history*, 11.
18 Images of every page of the manuscript can be found online in Burnley and Wiggins, The Auchinleck Manuscript (www.auchinleck.nls.uk). "David þe Kyng" appears on fol. 280r.
19 Lines 43–8. I cite the diplomatic transcription available at Burnley and Wiggins, The Auchinleck Manuscript. For a print facsimile, see Pearsall and Cunningham, *Auchinleck Manuscript.*
20 On the ubiquity and range of medieval associations of David and the harp, see Schaik, *Harp*, 38–61.
21 Revard, "*Gilote et Johane*," 123–4, 127, emphasis his.
22 Pearsall, "Whole book," 18.
23 *Ibid.*, 20.
24 Hanna, "Miscellaneity and vernacularity," 37–8, 46–7. He argues that the manuscript's "compilers' most persistent desire is to stimulate hope, to create in the book's audience a sense of omnipresent divine mercifulness, even in the face of human unregeneracy" (47).

25 Connolly, "Compiling the book," 133.
26 Shonk, "Study of the Auchinleck Manuscript," 73, 82, 87.
27 For example, "the deliberate exploitation of such dialectic commonplaces for comic effect, which I have implied might lie behind the Harley Scribe's juxtaposition on fols. 110–11v, is actually practiced by Chaucer in his *Nun's Priest's Tale*" (Revard, "*Gilote et Johane*," 132). Later he makes Chaucer the implicit model for the Harley scribe's career: "by 1340 [Revard's proposed date for Harley 2253] he was 46 – about Chaucer's age when he began the *Canterbury Tales*" (*ibid*., 142).
28 Bahr, *Fragments and assemblages.* I take such poetic effects to include resistance to paraphrase, allusiveness, and elusiveness, and openness to rereading and to multiple, even conflicting interpretive strategies.
29 Pearsall, "Whole book," 18.
30 Nolan, "Lydgate's worst poem."
31 *Ibid*., 75, 81.
32 *Ibid*., 80, emphasis hers.
33 Cerquiglini, *In praise of the variant*, 27.
34 Taylor, *Textual situations*, 76.
35 *Ibid*., 83.
36 Cerquiglini, *In praise of the variant*, 58.
37 *Ibid*., 61.
38 For a more detailed discussion of Lachmann and Bédier's methods, see Hult, "Reading it right."
39 Cerquiglini, *In praise of the variant*, 67.
40 Quoted in Cerquiglini, *In praise of the variant*, 67. For the original statement, see Bédier, *La Tradition manuscrite*, 71. The reference is to the reprinted edition.
41 Donaldson, "Psychology of editors," 103.
42 *Ibid*., 103–4.
43 *Ibid*., 104.
44 Dinshaw, *Chaucer's sexual poetics*, 28–64. She also provides an incisive analysis of Donaldon's editor/bachelor metaphor at 13–14.
45 Donaldson, "*Canterbury Tales*, D117."
46 Kane and Donaldson, *Piers Plowman.*
47 Patterson, *Negotiating the past*, 110.
48 Meyer-Lee, "Manuscript studies."
49 Cerquiglini, *In praise of the variant*, 79–80.
50 Duggan, project director, *Piers Plowman* Electronic Archive, http://piers.iath.virginia.edu/index.html.
51 Meyer-Lee, "Manuscript studies," 26. I should note that Meyer-Lee does not in fact endorse replacing critical editions with databases of the sort he describes.
52 For a forceful and well-reasoned counterargument, based upon a rejection of what he regards as the "humanist assumptions about literature" that underlie such editions, see Machan, *Textual criticism*.

53 Patterson rightly points out that, despite their professed subjectivism, the Kane–Donaldson *Piers Plowman* "is empirical, which means that it is neither certain in its conclusions nor strictly replicable in its procedures; it relies on judgment, which is both subjective and fallible; its canons of taste are aesthetic, which means that they have to do with art. But what it is not is ad hoc, capricious, arbitrary, or intuitional" ("Logic of textual criticism," 98).

54 Kay, "Analytical survey 3," 317–18. Cerquiglini's argument that, faced with two substantively different manuscript readings of the same poetic line, "one must assume their equivalence and grasp medieval language as it swings back and forth between the two" (*In praise of the variant*, 75), bears out Kay's warning, since to follow Cerquiglini's imperative entails regarding as immaterial to interpretation, because "equivalent," the variance that he is at such pains to praise.

55 This essentialism is clear throughout Cerquiglini's work: the vernacular displays "an essential variance" (*In praise of the variant*, 21); "variance is the main characteristic of a work in the medieval vernacular" (*ibid*., 37); and "medieval writing does not produce variants; it *is* variance" (*ibid*., 77). At one point he tempers these claims somewhat – "variance, *until the end of the thirteenth century*, was the basis of the medieval literary aesthetic" (*ibid*., 39, emphasis added) – but he never identifies what changed in the fourteenth century, and his study proceeds with no subsequent notice of this qualification.

56 Scase, "Afterword," 293–4.

57 Though see Hall, "Editing and emendation," Rigg, "Editing of medieval texts," and Hall, "Reply."

58 Wenzel, "Sermon collections."

59 Scase, "Afterword," 293.

60 Gillespie and Nichols, principal investigators, Manuscript studies in an interoperable digital environment, www.stanford.edu/group/dmstech/cgi-bin/drupal.

61 Cameron, *Choosing not choosing*.

62 Williams, principal investigator, Digital miscellanies index, http://digitalmiscellaniesindex.org.

63 Hayles, *Writing machines*.

CHAPTER 11

# *Vernacular authorship and the control of manuscript production*

*Andrew Taylor*

It is a commonplace of book history that authors do not write books. Authors write texts, and these texts are then transformed into books, whether printed books or manuscripts, by a host of other activities: correcting, editing, copying or typesetting, binding, marketing, and so forth.[1] This commonplace, however, does not apply quite so easily to medieval vernacular authorship. For one thing, medieval textual composition was recognized as a collaborative process. As Bonaventure famously remarked,

> The method of making a book is fourfold. For someone writes the materials of others, adding or changing nothing, and this person is said to be merely the scribe. Someone else writes the materials of others, adding, but nothing of his own, and this person is said to be the compiler. Someone else writes both the materials of other men, and of his own, but the materials of others as the principal materials, and his own annexed for the purpose of clarifying them, and this person is said to be the commentator, not the author. Someone else writes both his own materials and those of others, but his own as the principal materials, and the materials of others annexed for the purposes of confirming his own, and such must be called the author.[2]

While distinguishing different levels of originality, Bonaventure assumes that even those who make the greatest personal contribution and therefore serve to rank as authors will draw freely on earlier writers. Authors provide the bulk of the material, not all of it.

Bonaventure places scribes and authors at opposite ends of a spectrum, but their work could not always be so easily distinguished. To compile, write commentary, or compose usually entailed scribal labor. A conventional way of depicting a medieval author is to show him as a scribe at work at his desk. One much-reproduced instance is a portrait of Jean Miélot, the secretary of Philip the Good of Burgundy, at work on his translation of Buonaccorso da Montemagno's *Dialogus de vera nobilitate*.[3] Miélot has an open chest of books by his side, two more books at his feet, and yet another on a small stool in front of him, all signs of his role as

commentator or translator, but he is copying directly from yet another book, held before him on an elevated bookstand attached to his writing desk. The professional paraphernalia (the knife, the inkpot, the weights to hold the pages flat, and so forth), are set out with such verisimilitude that the scene has often been used to illustrate a typical scribe at work.[4]

In some cases, however, scribal and authorial work overlapped even more extensively, as vernacular writers endeavored to control the physical production of their books. These efforts could be entirely pragmatic – medieval scribes could not be relied on to produce reliable texts unless they were carefully supervised. So Juan Manuel, author of the *Conde Lucanor*, tells his reader that he has deposited a complete copy of his work in a Dominican friary, and that no reader should judge his work before consulting this copy, since the misunderstanding of scribes can lead them to change "toda la entençion et toda la sentençia" (the whole intention and the whole meaning).[5] But beyond such concerns, the process of copying books and then bringing these books into circulation offered one means of acquiring authorial status. Recognizing the role scribal production played in the construction of the medieval author, numerous scholars over the last thirty years have returned to the manuscripts, fusing criticism and codicology.

For the Middle Ages authorial status was certainly not something that could be taken for granted. As Alastair J. Minnis demonstrated in *Medieval theory of authorship*, medieval vernacular writers did not simply take on a pre-existing status when they became authors. Instead, they had to forge a new kind of category for themselves, modifying that of *auctor* (a learned moral authority who wrote in Latin) so that it could be applied to the writers of vernacular fiction. Minnis noted that "In a literary context, the term *auctor* denoted someone who was at once a writer and an authority, someone not merely to be read but also to be respected and believed."[6] Struggling against the sense that no modern writer, especially one using the vernacular, could ever achieve such a dignity, some began to shape a new identity for themselves, effectively creating a category that had not previously existed: the vernacular author. Often this process of authorial self-construction was played out within the organization of specific manuscripts and the layout of their pages and it could entail the author's participation in all stages of book production, from copying to binding. The drive to define oneself as an author and the drive to control the production of one's manuscripts reinforced each other.

Not every poet or storyteller engaged in this struggle. Most medieval vernacular works remain anonymous, an anonymity closely connected to

what Paul Zumthor famously termed *mouvance*, the continual flow of the vernacular work as it moved from written text to oral performance and back.[7] Efforts to correct, edit, or stabilize vernacular texts were extremely rare before the days of Dante.[8] Chrétien de Troyes breaks new ground when he distinguishes, in the introduction to *Erec et Enide*, between the true version of the story that he will tell and the false versions made by the professional entertainers, since "those who make their living by telling stories are accustomed to fragment and corrupt it" ("depecier et corronpre suelent/cil qui de conter vivre vuelent").[9] The implication is that Chrétien's version, an artistically unified work or *conjointure*, would be worth preserving faithfully, but in fact Chrétien seems to have made little effort to ensure the accurate copying of his work.[10] Similarly, the vast majority of Middle English texts are anonymous, and even those writers who do name themselves tend to do so perfunctorily, as if to imply that they have nothing "in common with recognized auctores."[11]

For those who were endeavoring to construct themselves as authors, one approach was to appropriate the critical apparatus that accompanied learned Latin texts. Alastair Minnis and Rita Copeland, in particular, have explored the role of academic commentary in constructing a sense of a vernacular literary tradition, raising the status of the vernacular poet from that of a *gestour* or minstrel, an entertainer who tells tales, to that of a classical author. The elaborate academic prologue known as the *accessus* was developed in late antiquity for canonical authors such as Virgil, and then became a standard part of the apparatus of medieval grammatical instruction, in which it was used for authors such as Donatus and Priscian. In the thirteenth century, masters at the University of Paris expanded the *accessus* by drawing upon Aristotelian causality: the author was the efficient cause of a work, its sources the material cause, its literary form the formal cause, and the author's moral intention the final cause.[12] This machinery was then adopted by vernacular writers or their commentators.

Copeland shows how this approach to establishing vernacular authorship often initially took place under the aegis of translation. As Cicero indicated when he claimed that he translated "not as an interpreter but as an orator," translation was often classified as a branch of rhetoric and thus as an academic discipline.[13] Consequently the very grounds for denying authorial status to vernacular writers, that they were merely translators, copying the works of others in a debased language, could be transformed: they were translators, and hence practitioners of a long-standing academic discipline. Translation could serve as "a primary vehicle for

vernacular participation in, and ultimately appropriation of, the cultural privilege of Latin academic discourse."[14]

The first vernacular poets to engage in authorial self-construction by writing commentary on their own works and those of others were the great Italian triumvirate of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, and in these efforts they found patrons in city councils as well as in ducal courts. As Alastair Minnis and A. B. Scott note, "No one worked harder at becoming an *auctor* – not just a maker of verses but an authority – than Dante, and his self-promotion was inextricably intertwined with the promotion of the Italian language."[15] Dante's *Commedia* quickly achieved a status rivaled only by his acknowledged master, Virgil. Italian and Latin commentaries began to appear in the 1320s, and by the end of the century there were some twenty in circulation.[16] This celebration of poetry as a source of moral edification and as a continuation of a distinguished classical tradition encouraged expansive commentary. Most notably, in 1373, in response to a petition from a group of citizens, the civic government of Florence established a series of public lectures in Italian on Dante's *Commedia*, offering Boccaccio 100 florins for his services. Boccaccio died before he could revise his lectures for publication, but his notes have survived and offer a detailed commentary on both the literal and allegorical meanings of the text.[17] The self-authorization of the Italian poets has also left a wealth of manuscript evidence. Boccaccio, in particular, left a massive library, which can be partially reconstructed, and indicates how deeply his understanding of poetry was bound up with glossing. As he wrote to a friend, asking to borrow a glossed copy of Statius, "without a teacher or the glosses I cannot manage to make proper sense of the text" ("sine magistro vel glossis intellectum debitum non attingam").[18] He glossed his own works, especially his copy of the *Teseida* (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Acq. e Doni 325), and the works of others he compiled.[19] Boccaccio was indeed, as K. P. Clarke argues, both an *auctor* and a *scriptor*.[20]

Outside Italy, vernacular writers also turned to commentary as a means of establishing their authority, although much more tentatively. Copeland shows how poets such as Jean de Meun, John Gower, and Geoffrey Chaucer incorporated, often in their prologues, discussion of translation, books, classical authors, the moral value or social function of writing, or authorial intentions, thus creating an academic framework for their own texts, a process she termed "auto-exegesis." The G prologue to *The legend of good women*, where Chaucer states his intention "the naked text in English to declare," would be but one example of

this process.[21] The extent of critical commentary this single phrase has generated testifies to how well the strategy has succeeded, reinforcing Chaucer's status as an *auctor* down to our own day. The self-deprecation and expressions of unease about the writer's rough language that are so common in the prologues to vernacular texts can thus be read not merely as conventional modesty topoi but as assertions of authorial status.[22] As Copeland notes, "Chaucer and Gower affirm the ascendancy of vernacularity by inserting their texts into the historical, official discourse of hermeneutics."[23]

## FROM AUTHORIZED TEXT TO AUTHORIZED MANUSCRIPT

The insistence on the role of literary commentary and paratextual features in defining medieval authorship obviously gives new significance to the medieval text as it originally appeared on the page. When they presented their models, however, both Minnis and Copeland dealt primarily with the texts of the paratexts, that is, with various prologues, introductions, commentaries, and the like, as they had been passed down in modern editions, rather than with specific manuscripts or their physical layout. The same could be said until quite recently of much literary criticism. The extensive discussion of glossing as a form of textual manipulation that began among Chaucerians in the 1980s, for example, generally relied on the *Riverside Chaucer* and made little reference to the actual glosses in the manuscripts.[24] Those Middle English scholars who did work extensively with manuscripts tended to see them either as witnesses to be used in the production of critical editions, or as sources of information about people and their reading practice.[25]

Quite when the critical shift occurred and what drove it are open to debate. One possible originary moment would be the manifesto of the New Philology published in *Speculum* in 1990, in which Stephen Nichols called for "a postmodern return to the origins of medieval studies" that would address the manuscript in all its visual complexity, including its illuminations and its glosses, and not limit itself to just the text and language.[26] Nichols, stressing the multiple chronological layers of the manuscript, which often "postdate the life of the author by decades or even centuries," called for recognition of the manuscript as a "place of radical contingencies" whose "multiple forms of representation … often provoke rupture between perception and consciousness," ruptures he characterized in terms borrowed from Jacques Lacan.[27] So the New Philology could be considered the point where French

theory (known for its rejection of the author as an all-guiding interpretive principle) entered manuscript studies. An alternative genealogy would locate the displacement of the author differently, in terms of the long-standing struggle between "liberal" editors, who sought as far as possible to reconstruct the authorial original, and "conservative" editors, who stuck to a single manuscript.[28] In Old French philology, of course, the "conservative" approach had been set forth by Joseph Bédier in his work on the *Lai de l'ombre*, but, as Nichols argues, the approach did not lead to a close treatment of the manuscript's physical particularities.[29] In Middle English studies, it was the effort to edit *Piers Plowman*, above all, where the principles were most hotly contested. The claim that Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 851 was based on an earlier stage of the poem, a Z-text that would predate A, called into question the long-standing division of the poem into three basic stages and with that the very possibility of organizing the surviving manuscripts, with all their scribal revisions and contamination between versions, into a convincing stemma.[30] By the late 1980s, a growing number of Middle English scholars were expressing reservations about the possibility and desirability of producing full critical editions and calling for a greater attention to the particularities of scribal practice.[31]

Arguably, however, the most influential demonstration of the implications of codicological information for literary criticism was Sylvia Huot's 1987 study of French court poets, *From song to book*, which was copiously illustrated and based on personal consultation of scores of manuscripts.[32] Huot showed how poets such as Jean de Meun, Machaut, and Froissart endeavored to control the copying of their works, so that their texts were not only copied accurately but also arranged in a particular order and laid out in a particular manner on the page, with a particular apparatus, which could include titles, rubrication, and glosses, programs of illustrations, and even Latin commentary. In Machaut, in particular, Huot found a reflexive "writerly poetics," in which the process of writing is inscribed as a major theme in the poems themselves, and then echoed in Machaut's efforts to control the actual copying of his texts and their illustrations. Huot's approach has been pursued by others, notably Domenic Leo, Deborah McGrady, and, most recently, Elizabeth Leach, who extends it to Machaut's musical settings.[33] The common ground is that a specific manuscript, with its multiple codes of meaning (paratextual, iconographical, and notational), is seen as the fullest expression of a medieval author's work and becomes the natural focus of critical attention.

## PERFORMING AND PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

For many early editors, medieval poetry in its pure, originary form was oral, and so too was medieval society. Both were debased by the use of writing. Inscription was a kind of Fall. The text was deformed at the hands of incompetent scribes and reduced to blots and scratches on scraps of flesh, while the virile companionship of the hall gave way to the effeminate isolation of the bower. So, for Léon Gautier it was a crucial part of the meaning of *La chanson de Roland* that it be the song of a minstrel and its original baronial audience be largely illiterate.[34] In Middle English, Thomas Percy's free reworking of his manuscript, the famous Percy Folio (London, British Library, Additional MS 27879) and his disdain for its actual readings paralleled his fascination with the early minstrels who once sang these songs, whom he saw as the "the genuine successors of the ancient Bards."[35] Given the romanticization of the oral, it followed that individual manuscripts were often effectively dismissed, for the editors who used them wanted to reach back not just to a different text (the true authorial version, not the scribally marred one) but to a text in a different mode, that of song. So the text of the Anglo-Norman copy of the *Chanson de Roland*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby MS 23, was reproduced meticulously (although in some cases only to have its forms normalized), but both its full codicological context and what little is known about the actual performance practice of minstrels were ignored.[36]

The elaborate anthologies of French court poetry, either compilations of lyrics, the *chansonniers*, or long narrative works with lyrical inserts, such as Machaut's *Voir dit*, present a dramatically different situation. These manuscripts can be said to stage their own performance, as when Paris, Bibliothèque national de France, MS fr. 1586, one of the great collections of Machaut's poetry, depicts the lover of *Le remède de fortune* entwined in his unrolling poetic composition. At the same time, the notation in these manuscripts offers crucial evidence of how the lyrics might actually have been sung, although with great latitude for interpretation. Elizabeth Leach notes that simply varying the speed of a performance can turn "virtually any piece of music into a dirge, through slow performance, or into something lighthearted or potentially ridiculous."[37] Her discussion of the lyric "Plourez dames" combines such details as the varying treatment of the minims that are now transcribed as eighth notes with an account of two prominent recent recordings, noting their interpretive assumptions and arguing that neither recording quite captures the dynamic tension between joy and sorrow of an ideal performance.

At the risk of stretching a term beyond its normal limits, an author's efforts to produce a particular version of his works might also be seen as part of this "performance." At any rate, in the case of both Jean Froissart and Christine de Pisan, the elaborate efforts to control manuscript production were closely intertwined with the political maneuvering involved in setting up the moment of presentation, and with both authors' long-standing efforts to expand their reputation and influence, whether as the preeminent chronicler of a culture or as its moral critic. Self-authorization required not just control of the manuscript but control of its moment of presentation.

The preeminent instance of such authorial self-construction is Christine de Pisan's presentation of the Queen's manuscript (London, British Library, Harley MS 4431) to Isabelle of Bavaria in about 1411. Christine exercised extraordinary control over the copying of her works, fifty of which were the work of just three scribes, one of whom may have been Christine herself.[38] This elegant manuscript might seem a compliment to the queen's sophistication, but a number of readers have found it otherwise.[39] The extensive treatment of other patrons and the references to Christine herself, combined with the very limited treatment of the queen outside the initial frontispiece, all suggest that the production team was "less concerned with acknowledging the queen than with valorizing the author."[40] Christine de Pisan assumed this role in an effort to reform the French court and its queen; her authorial self-construction was driven by her moral vision.

The exact circumstances of almost any initial court presentation are elusive, the primary evidence usually being an idealized depiction of how the event was supposed to occur that was placed in anticipation as a frontispiece within the volume itself. It might seem with these late medieval self-referential texts that we enter an endless hall of mirrors, but the presentation of the book actually did occur (even if we cannot tell exactly when), and when hard facts about the actual presentation are available, and we can know who was there or how the room was laid out, these facts shape the meaning of the author's larger work.[41] There was a dynamic relation between a book as a physical object (which remains) and a book as a component of a performance (now lost). As Brigitte Bedos-Rezzak has argued, eleventh-century Northern French charters can be considered "agents for the structuring of society," that is, that these apparently neutral documents do not just *reflect* structures of kinship, allegiance, patronage, and the like, but interpellate both writers and readers so as to *create* these structures.[42] The charters "can be conceived as literally producing

and organizing social meaning."[43] The same point holds for the elaborate authorial compilations of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Both the book and the social group that received it engaged in reciprocal formation, each one imposing meaning upon the other.

## SEMI-AUTHORIZATION

Where Machaut, Froissart, and Christine de Pisan all appear confident masters of self-presentation and the use of their books to build a public identity, Chaucer's approach to authorship is more vexed, especially in the case of the *Canterbury tales*. Here recent scholarship, with its insistence on the importance of the layout and apparatus of specific manuscripts, is producing new questions in abundance and encouraging renewed collaboration between critics and manuscript scholars. Much of this work turns on the question of how close the surviving manuscripts are to Chaucer's final plan, and the dating of these manuscripts becomes crucial. During the last two decades, there have been influential challenges to the long-standing consensus that all the surviving manuscripts are posthumous, with efforts to place Hengwrt (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS 392) sometime between 1395 and 1400 and Ellesmere (San Marino, Huntington Library, MS El.26.C.9) sometime between 1400 and 1405. This would make it just possible for Chaucer to have been a living member of the Ellesmere production team, the group of scribes and editors (or scribal editors) who labored together to organize the material on Chaucer's desk.[44]

With the renewed insistence on the importance of the earliest manuscripts, now dated earlier than ever before, the old battle between those who favor Hengwrt and those who favor Ellesmere returns. On the one hand, Martin Stevens holds that recognizing the fundamental importance of the final "production team" in shaping the Ellesmere manuscript leads to "a redefinition of authorship" so that Chaucer is "construed not so much as the single originating poet but as the voice constructed both from his own work and its redaction."[45] In other words, "the appropriate name for the poet we read in *The Riverside Chaucer* is the 'Ellesmere Chaucer.' "[46] N. F. Blake, on the other hand, pursues the possibility that Chaucer himself "oversaw certain manuscripts during his own lifetime" and should be regarded as "an inveterate reviser" rather than as "a man who was unwilling to publish his work."[47] The consequence of accepting this possibility would be "that we have to think in terms of several different authorial versions; there would have to be a *Canterbury Tales* A text,

a *Canterbury Tales* B text, and so on."[48] Either position would leave readers the option of regarding a particular version, usually the Ellesmere, as a powerful utterance with its own subtle internal unity (and thus offering subtle interpretations based on its specific ordering of the tales), or of regarding that version as "provisional and incomplete" (and exercising greater interpretive caution).[49] Those who wished to embrace Ellesmere, however, would now have to acknowledge that the version they were exalting was not entirely the work of one man. Furthermore, both the Hengwrtians (hard and soft, old and new) and the new Ellesmerians challenge the casual acceptance of the *Riverside Chaucer*'s version of the *Canterbury tales*, an eclectic combination of Ellesmere order and frequent Hengwrt readings, as the definitive record of the intention of Chaucer and Chaucer alone. Footnotes that begin "all quotations of Chaucer's works are from the *Riverside Chaucer*" now bear their own internal tension.

A further concern with the *Riverside Chaucer* is that it presents some, but not all, of the Ellesmere apparatus, confining the glosses to the endnotes. The importance of the apparatus of the Hengwrt and Ellesmere manuscripts has long been recognized. As Ian Doyle and Malcolm Parkes noted, "The *ordinatio* of the Ellesmere manuscript interprets the CT as a *compilatio* in that it emphasizes the role of the tales as repositories of *auctoritates* – *sententiae* and aphorisms on different topics which are indicated by marginal headings."[50] The question now becomes who was responsible for this *ordinatio*? While there is still no agreement on Chaucer's *final* role in the editing and circulation of the *Canterbury tales*, there is a growing recognition that he contributed significantly to its apparatus and that he must be regarded as the author of many of the Latin glosses.[51] The argument was first advanced by Germaine Dempster, who showed that the copy of Petrarch's *Epistolae seniles* used to compose the glosses in the *Clerk's tale* must have corresponded very closely to the early and lost exemplar of the tale itself, for both shared numerous variants not shared by the French translation of the *Epistolae*.[52] It seems likely that on many occasions Chaucer and one of the primary glossators were drawing from the same manuscript, that is, were the same person.[53] A similar argument can be made for other parts of the apparatus, notably the *Retractions*, with significant implications for our understanding of the work as a whole. Following Minnis, Stephen Partridge has argued that by casting himself as a compiler in the closing sentence of his *Retractions* ("heere is ended the book of the tales of Caunterbury compiled by Geffrey Chaucer"), Chaucer usurps the position of the scribe, and thus, despite his apparent self-deprecation, lays claim to the status of the author.[54]

The puzzle, then, is that Chaucer seems to have left no fully controlled or fully authorized text. Of course, it is just possible that Chaucer did do so, but that the manuscript has simply been lost. Partridge hints at this possibility when he alludes to the practice of Chaucer's French contemporaries and then observes: "Exactly how far Chaucer's enterprise extended from the imaginative into the material world of textual production will no doubt be a subject of ongoing debate."[55] But the state of the manuscripts that do survive suggests that Chaucer's approach to publication was fundamentally different from that of Machaut or Froissart, let alone Christine de Pisan. Even if there were early versions of the *Canterbury tales* in circulation during Chaucer's lifetime, which seems likely enough, and even if he was exercising some degree of authorial supervision over some of them, as a number of scholars have argued, Chaucer was clearly not moving expeditiously toward a complete, finished, and definitive version of his work. If he had been, the Ellesmere and Hengwrt manuscripts, completed within a few years of each other by the same man, a highly qualified metropolitan scribe, would not differ so dramatically. Simon Horobin notes that Adam Pinkhurst, even if he is to be identified with the "Adam Scriveyn," is not quite Chaucer's scribe.[56] Horobin concludes that Pinkhurst "was clearly a pivotal figure in the organization [of the copying of the *Canterbury tales*], with access to authoritative exemplars, but with no privileged insight into how these should be organized and arranged."[57] The dispute is now whether this was because there was more than one authorized version in circulation or no authorized version at all.

If we wish to look to possible analogies with Chaucer's French contemporaries, it is Froissart the chronicler, rather than Froissart the court poet, who is arguably the most helpful. Of Froissart the chronicler it might be said, as Derek Pearsall said of Chaucer, that for him the writing of the text became "coterminous ... with life itself."[58] On the other hand, Froissart does not seem to have had any hesitations about assembling his collected lyrics into semi-definitive versions. Admittedly, the survival of only two manuscripts may present a misleadingly simple picture, but those two are substantially in agreement and their differences (the omission of a few poems and the use of Francien rather than Picard) are easily explicable in terms of the political situation of the potential patrons.[59] With these two manuscripts, we have in effect two slightly different versions of the same relatively stable corpus. In comparison, the various stages of the *Chroniques*, especially Books III and IV, remain an editorial challenge that may ever defy solution. Peter Ainsworth and Alberto Varvaro express doubts about Kervyn de

Lettenhove's elaborate scheme for grouping the surviving witnesses and conclude, with scholarly prudence, that in the current state of knowledge it would be premature to attempt to establish a *stemma codicum*.[60] Froissart's endless rewriting, however, produces not the *mouvance* of the *chanson de geste*, but rather the continual reconstruction of his life's great work and of his professional identity, a struggle he invokes with the image of the forge, to which he would return once more to hammer out a new version.

## CONCLUSION

Christine de Pisan, whose moral urgency extended to the fullest control of the copying of her texts, and Chaucer, whose ironical vision appears to have curtailed the copying of his, mark two poles of medieval writerly poetics. Between them lie a range of vernacular poets exercising various degrees of control over their texts. In each case, the surviving witnesses, in all their visual complexity, shape the meaning of the texts they contain. In each case, the surviving witnesses provide clues about lost performances, which were part of the meaning of these texts in their own day. And in each case, the surviving manuscripts testify to the fluidity of the categories of "author" and "work" during the late Middle Ages, in comparison to the relative stability these categories acquired in later print culture.[61] This interplay between authorship and manuscript will ensure a continual interplay between manuscript studies and literary criticism.

## NOTES

1 See, for example, Darnton, *Case for books*, xvi; R. Chartier, *Order of books*, 10; S. Butler, *Matter of the page*, 9.

2 "quadruplex est modus faciendi librum. Aliquis enim scribit aliena, nihil addendo vel mutando, et iste mere dicitur *scriptor*. Aliquis scribit aliena, addendo, sed non de suo; et iste *compilator* dicitur. Aliquis scribit et aliena et sua, sed aliena tamquam principalia, et sua tamquam annexa ad evidentiam; et iste dicitur *commentator*, non auctor. Aliquis scribit et sua et aliena, sed sua tanquam principalia, aliena tamquam annexa ad confirmationem; et talis debet dici *auctor*." Proemii qu. 4, conclusion to *Commentaria in quatuor libros sententiarum*, vol. 1, 14–15, quoted and translated in Minnis, *Medieval theory of authorship*, 94.

3 Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS 9278, fol. 1or. On Miélot's translation of Buonaccorso's *Dialogus de vera nobilitate*, also known as the *Controversia de nobilitate*, or in French as *Le debat de noblesse* or *La controverse de noblesse*, see Willard, "Concept of true nobility" and Rabil Jr., *Knowledge, goodness, and*

*power*. On the circulation of this work in manuscript and print, see Mak, *How the page matters*, 18–21.

4 See, for example, the cover of Lemaire, *Introduction à la codicologie*, which reproduces this image, identifying it as "un scribe au travail dans son atelier."

5 Manuel, *Obras completas*, vol. 1, 32, quoted and discussed in Dagenais, *Ethics of reading*, 114–15.

6 Minnis, *Medieval theory of authorship*, 10.

7 Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale*, 70–5; *Towards a medieval poetics*, 77 ff.; and "Intervocalité et mouvance."

8 One striking exception is a version of the *Chanson d'Aspremont*, the story of Charlemagne's wars in southern Italy against the Saracens, now Cologny, Bibliotecca Bodmeriana, MS Bodmer 11 (formerly Phillipps 26119), which belonged to brother Anthony de Hautrieve, prior of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, in 1299, and shows signs of contemporary editing. As Keith Busby notes, this manuscript demonstrates "an attitude towards the text which … contrasts sharply with the received modern view of medieval variance." *Codex and context*, vol. 11, 121.

9 Roques, *Romans de Chrétien de Troyes*, 1. Such accusations would become common in the following century. For examples, see Menegaldo, *Jongleur*, 222.

10 An influential early study is F. D. Kelly, *Sens and conjointure*. As Karl D. Uitti notes on the website of the Princeton Charette Project, "to the despair of not a few modern editors, the scribes' recognition of Chrétien's authority did not extend to their copying mechanically the text of their exemplar(s). Each felt free to modify the exemplar he used in order to serve the intention with which their work of copying was identified." See "Background information on Chrétien de Troyes' *Le Chevalier de la charrette*, manuscript and editorial issues," *Le Chevalier de la charrette;* www.princeton.edu/~lancelot/romance.html. Busby describes the scribe who signed himself Guoit, who copied the major collection Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 794, as "a wilful scribe with distinct likes and dislikes which in part determine the nature of the copy he produces" (*Codex and context*, vol. 1, 108).

11 Machan, *Textual criticism*, 105.

12 See Minnis, *Medieval theory of authorship*, 15–39, drawing on Hunt, "Introduction to the 'Artes,'" and on the Aristotelian prologue, Minnis, *Medieval theory of authorship*, 28–9.

13 Cicero, *De inventione*, *De optimo genere oratorum* part 5, line 14 (pp. 364–5), quoted in Copeland, *Rhetoric, hermeneutics, and translation*, 2 and 33.

14 Copeland, *Rhetoric, hermeneutics, and translation*, 3. See further Hanna et al., "Latin commentary tradition."

15 Minnis and Scott, *Medieval literary theory*, 374.

16 See the list provided by the Dartmouth Dante Project (http://dante.dartmouth.edu/), which supplements the invaluable account of Sandkühler, *Die frühen Dantekommentare*.

17 Boccaccio, *Boccaccio's expositions*.

18 Branca, *Tutte le opere*, vol. v, Ep. iv, 29, quoted in K. P. Clarke, *Chaucer and Italian textuality*, 48, my translation.
19 Vandelli, "Autografo della 'Teseide'"; Dempster, "Salvatore Battaglia's edition," and further discussion in K. P. Clarke, *Chaucer and Italian textuality*, 48.
20 K. P. Clarke, *Chaucer and Italian textuality*, 92.
21 Copeland, *Rhetoric, hermeneutics, and translation*, 192–3; Chaucer, *Riverside Chaucer*, 591, l. 86.
22 For examples of self-deprecation as a self-authorizing strategy, see "Authorizing text and writer" in Wogan-Browne et al., *Idea of the vernacular*, and, for an alternative reading, Machan, *Textual criticism*, 105.
23 Copeland, *Rhetoric, hermeneutics, and translation*, 185.
24 See, for example, Patterson, "'For the wyves love of Bathe,'" at 682 and *Chaucer and history*, 280–321; Hanning, "'I shall finde it in a maner glose'"; Caroline Dinshaw, however, in *Chaucer's sexual poetics*, 122, notes Graham Caie's argument that the Ellesmere scribe "considered the glosses to be an important part of the work as a whole."
25 See, for example, Pearsall, *Old English.* Pearsall notes that "The particular feature of this history of early English poetry is that it pays attention throughout to matters of provenance and audience, so as to provide as much information as possible on poetry as a social phenomenon as well as an artistic one" (xi).
26 Nichols, "Introduction," 7.
27 *Ibid*., 8.
28 For a lively debate on the merits of these two approaches, see the exchange between Lapidge and Frantzen in Frank, *Politics of editing.*
29 Bédier, "La tradition manuscrite du *Lai de l'ombre*," 161–96 and 321–56; Nichols, "Introduction," 6.
30 Langland, *Piers Plowman*, and Kane, "The 'Z version.'" C. David Benson provides a judicious review of the debate in *Public Piers Plowman*. See also the recent critique of efforts at stemmatic recension by L. Warner, *Lost history.*
31 See, in particular, Machan's critique of the underlying principles of humanist textual criticism. Machan defines these principles as "lexical and idealist … lexical in the sense that words are privileged over their material manifestation and idealist in the sense that the essential intended work has priority over a text that might have appeared at a specific moment in a specific document" (*Textual criticism*, 12, cf. 27, 59, and passim). John M. Bowers offers a forceful early statement of the need to turn to the manuscript on the grounds that "medieval usage *is* medieval meaning," in "Hoccleve's two copies," 471.
32 Huot, *From song to book*. As Huot acknowledges, an important early precursor was Rosemary Tuve and her *Allegorical imagery*. Huot also discusses her debt to Minnis on 99 n. 29.
33 Leo, "Authorial presence"; McGrady, *Controlling readers*; Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut.*
34 Gautier, *La chevalerie*, esp. 656–7.
35 Percy, *Reliques of English poetry*, vol. 1, 1.

36 Taylor, "Was there a song?," 52.
37 Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 271 and 274.
38 "Research context" in "Christine de Pizan: the making of the Queen's manuscript," www.pizan.lib.ed.ac.uk/. Ouy and Reno identify Scribe X with Christine in "Identification des autographes." The identification is queried by Parussa, "Orthographes et autographes" and Laidlaw, "Christine and the manuscript tradition."
39 Hindman, *Christine de Pizan*, 13; McGrady, "What is a patron"
40 McGrady, "What is a patron," 203.
41 Sandra Hindman, for example, shows, on the basis of palace inventories, that the details of Isabelle of Bavaria's chamber in the frontispiece of the Queen's manuscript are largely correct. See "Iconography," 105–6.
42 Bedos-Rezzak, "Diplomatic sources," 321. Bedos-Rezzak extends this analysis to the complete physical object, both charter and seal, for the seals, "in embodying the characters of their owners, their fame, their authority, their authenticity … communicated these strengths to the charter" (331). As she notes, modern curatorial practices that separate seals and charters into different locations effectively conceal this function.
43 *Ibid.*, 322.
44 Hanna, "Hengwrt manuscript," 74; Scott, "Hours and Psalter," 106 and 118 n. 54.
45 Stevens, Introduction to *Ellesmere Chaucer*, 22.
46 *Ibid*.
47 Blake, "Geoffrey Chaucer," 116 and 118. Blake's theory finds some support in a recent discovery by Estelle Stubbs that Scribe D was revising the order of the tales as he reworked Corpus 198. See Stubbs, " 'Here's one I prepared earlier,' " and the discussion in Kerby-Fulton, "V: some of the earliest attempts," 79.
48 Blake, "Geoffrey Chaucer," 117. Blake's phrasing is provocative and somewhat misleading, for the A, B, and other versions of *Piers Plowman*, the obvious point of comparison, exist (with the exception of the controversial Z version) in multiple manuscripts.
49 The option of finding in Ellesmere a subtle aesthetic order has appealed to such critics as D. Howard, L. Patterson, and D. Warwick Frese. See Howard, *Idea of the Canterbury tales*, 17–18, Patterson, *Chaucer and history*, 44–5, or Frese, *Ars legendi*, 234. For a contrasting view, see Pearsall, *Life of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 233 and 338 n. 9. Pearsall expresses a similar skepticism as to the degree of artistic unity in manuscript miscellanies in "Whole book."
50 Doyle and Parkes, "Production of copies," 190.
51 Stephen Partridge provides a comprehensive and judicious review of this question in "Manuscript glosses."
52 Dempster, "Chaucer's manuscript." Dempster argues "the conclusion will seem inevitable that the glosses were copied from a manuscript closer to Chaucer's lost copy than any of the collated manuscripts, if, indeed, they were not copied from Chaucer's manuscript itself" (10).

53 For other examples see Pratt, "Chaucer and the hand"; Caie, "Significance of the early manuscript glosses," and "Significance of marginal glosses"; and Silvia, "Glosses to the *Canterbury tales*."

54 Partridge, " 'The makere of this boke.' " Similar suggestions have been made by Wimsatt, *Chaucer and his contemporaries* and Butterfield, "*Mise-en-page*," 71.

55 Partridge, " 'The makere of this boke,' " 138.

56 Horobin, "Adam Pinkhurst." See also A. Gillespie, "Reading Chaucer's words." On the question of whether the Ellesmere scribe can be so confidently identified as Adam Pinkhurst, see J. Roberts, "On giving Scribe B a name."

57 Horobin, "Adam Pinkhurst," 367.

58 Derek Pearsall suggests that "the four-tale plan was a late addition to the General Prologue, designed to extend the tale-telling possibilities of *The Canterbury Tales* almost indefinitely, meanwhile postponing the bringing to an end of a project that had become coterminous for Chaucer with life itself" (*Life of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 233).

59 Croenen, Figg, and Taylor, "Authorship, patronage, and gifts."

60 Froissart, *Chroniques*, 61.

61 On the gradual stabilization of printed texts, see Johns, *Nature of the book*.

CHAPTER 12

# *Medieval French and Italian literature: towards a manuscript history*

*Keith Busby and Christopher Kleinhenz*

Traditional literary histories of the Middle Ages, irrespective of the language areas and periods they cover, are largely based on the reading of texts in modern critical editions. Historical research and internal evidence provided by the texts themselves are used to build up a chronology of the evolution of texts, genres, and text-types as well as a picture of the intertextual relationships between them. The texts are then situated in cultural and socio-historical contexts, allotted their due and proper place in the continuum of medieval literature. Such literary histories also usually attribute certain authors, where known, or works with greater or lesser importance in the overall scheme of things. There is much to be said for this basic approach, which has served us well since the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century.[1] However, it has doubtless led to the recycling of what have become *idées reçues*, some of which may not always stand up to close and renewed scrutiny. While we do not argue in this chapter for a totally revisionist view in that the presence and influence of, say, Chrétien de Troyes or Dante would emerge from any study, however carried out, we do claim that the examination of the manuscript transmission and contexts of medieval French and Italian literature can lead to a radically different vision. The cultural and linguistic links between France and Italy in the Middle Ages and the reciprocal influence of their literary traditions justify their treatment together in this chapter, and invite explicit and implicit comparisons.

The constraints of space obviously do not permit us to review the entire spectrum and corpus of French and Italian literature from their beginnings to the end of the Middle Ages (which may be quite different periods for the two languages), so the authors, texts, and genres we have opted to discuss are to be considered as examples only, and even our discussion of them as mere preliminaries to further and more detailed study. For French, we concentrate on narrative literature, referring to lyric, drama, religious, and didactic works only in passing, but fully aware that

modern categorizations by genre are by definition somewhat contrived, and that medieval audiences did not experience a text in the same strict taxonomic way that modern readers and scholars tend to.[2] Indeed, one of the disconcerting aspects for a modern reader of approaching medieval literature through manuscripts is precisely the manner in which texts that would traditionally be regarded as incompatible companions are gathered together in the same book. Our discussion of literature in the *langue d'oïl* turns on courtly romance (including Chrétien de Troyes), the *chanson de geste*, and short narrative forms such as the *lai breton*, the *fabliau*, animal fables, and miracle tales. Space constraints have led us to concentrate on the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries, although we remain aware that our topic could be extended to cover the fifteenth. For Italian, after a discussion of the textual history of the earliest literary texts and of several genres, we focus on lyric poetry, the first examples of which were forged in that multi-cultural court of Emperor Frederick II and subsequently imitated by a wide variety of poets on the mainland, primarily in Tuscany. The Italian literary tradition is both blessed and cursed by the preeminence of the "Three Crowns" – Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio – who achieved their revered place in the literary pantheon, respectively, for the allegorical epic (*Divine comedy*), lyric poetry (*Canzoniere*), and prose (*Decameron*). We say blessed and cursed, for their excellence in these areas is understandable and recognized by all, but, precisely for this reason, many if not most other literary works of the period have been lost in the shadows of these three great authors. T. S. Eliot once observed that "All of Dante's works are important, because they are works of Dante,"[3] and this reflected glory is also enjoyed by the minor works of Petrarch and Boccaccio. Yet, proportionately none of the minor works of the Three Crowns has garnered the attention given to the *Comedy*, the *Canzoniere*, and the *Decameron*. To be sure, much fine scholarship has been done on the "other" medieval Italian authors, but in many cases they have been given short shrift or have been undervalued precisely because they do not measure up to these higher, and perhaps unattainable, standards of excellence. Moreover, through his critical pronouncements in *De vulgari eloquentia* (= *DVE*) and the *Comedy* Dante has shaped, rightly or wrongly, our basic understanding of the development of the Italian lyric tradition over the first century of its existence. The *DVE* also gives us insight into a particular kind of categorization by genre and language. All of these considerations will be examined in light of the surviving manuscript tradition, and what that tradition discloses to an intensive investigation. In essence, we will suggest that close examination of manuscript contexts and

traditions points toward a different and more varied relationship between authors, listeners, and book owners, mediated by the artisans of the book.

## FRENCH

There is no doubt, as far as scholarship on medieval French literature is concerned, that one of the most striking developments of recent decades has been precisely a manuscript-oriented approach, which uses the critical edition only as a means of basic access to the text and as a source of information on the manuscripts that transmit them.[4] Clearly, there are scholarly purposes and aims for which the modern edition is more than adequate (study of narrative structure, themes, motifs, and characters, and certain linguistic topics), and to underline the importance of manuscript context is not to discount the great philological enterprise of the modern era, starting in the middle of the nineteenth century. To do so would not only be arrogance of the highest order, but also to forget that which enabled and inspired most of us to become medievalists in the first place. We doubt whether any modern medievalist reads a medieval text in manuscript before reading it in a modern edition or even perhaps a translation into a modern vernacular. Moreover, many scholars do not have frequent access to the manuscript rooms of major research libraries, and only a minute fraction of the corpus of medieval manuscripts is, and is ever likely to be, available online. The amount of work involved in digitizing and encoding a manuscript is enormous. Although a number of useful projects have become indispensable,[5] these tend to be centered on a particular text, whereas what is really needed for the kind of work we have in mind here is access to complete codices.[6] In any event, the usefulness of the online edition, like its traditional counterpart, depends to a large extent on the kind of information provided by the editor. The major advantage of the digital and online format is, of course, the presentation of images of the object in question.

Even those conducting research for which consultation of manuscripts could not be said to be crucial might nevertheless benefit from reading their texts in context. In other words, first-hand contact with the raw material of the medieval text is rarely without advantages and can point scholars in unexpected directions. It can also be argued that only comparison of the different recensions of a particular text transmitted in multiple copies can cast light on the real nature of medieval textuality. Paradoxically, this kind of awareness is often derived from the work carried out during the preparation of a traditional critical edition. The

inclusion of diplomatic transcriptions from multiple copies in an edition can offer an insight into the medieval attitudes to language, but this is practical only in the case of relatively short texts (such as the synoptic editions of Jean Rychner).[7]

What, then, is to be gained from the reading of manuscripts and the texts they transmit, and what do we look for in the act of reading them? Manuscripts may be eloquent or mute, or may need coaxing to give up the kind of information that will aid in creating the basis for a different type of literary history. Elements of *mise-en-texte* (abbreviations, punctuation, word-clustering and separation) and *mise-en-page* (placement of initials, *tituli*, incipits, explicits, rubrics, illumination, for example) may all give an indication of the uses to which a manuscript may have been put, that is to say, as a performance text or for individual reading. Aspects of the *mise-en-page* in particular may even suggest how a planner or artist viewed and interpreted the text.[8] Such details, together with close examination of the regional features of the language, can build a picture of the history of manuscript production and indicate the geographical and chronological dissemination of texts. Reading texts in sequence within a manuscript, rather than individually in modern editions removed from their context, can cast unexpected light on them, whether or not the planner of the manuscript had this intertextuality in mind. The grouping of texts in a manuscript can also reveal much about the medieval view of genres or text-types and authorship.[9] Large "recueil" manuscripts, such as Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (= BnF) fr. 837, fr. 19152, Arsenal 3516, Bern, Burgerbibliothek 354, or Cambridge, University Library Gg. 1.1 (the latter Anglo-Norman) are particularly open to this kind of reading. Some manuscripts do seem to include sections devoted to the work of particular authors, such as the Rutebeuf sections of BnF fr. 837 and fr. 1593. These manuscripts anticipate the collections of Watriquet de Couvin (fr. 14968), Machaut (fr. 1564 and fr. 1586), and Froissart (fr. 830 and fr. 831). The "author collections," especially those in which the author seems to have been involved, are largely a fourteenth-century development.[10] Manuscripts that gather together texts of certain genres also exist, but are relatively rare in comparison with the large number of "recueils." Significant examples are the collection of *lais bretons* in Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. fr. 1104 and of Arthurian verse romances in Chantilly, Musée Condé 472, discussed below. Art historical study also has a large part to play in the chronological and geographical mapping of manuscripts. In principle, the style of illumination is one of the best criteria for localizing and dating a manuscript, particularly when this confirms paleographical and

linguistic evidence. There can be no question, for example, of the Italian provenance of BnF fr. 782 of the *Roman de Troie*, or the insular nature of London, British Library (= BL) Lansdowne 780 of *La chanson d'Aspremont* or BL Egerton 3028 of *Fierabras* and *La destructioun de Rome*. The examination of marks of ownership, ex libris, library lists, wills, and postmortem inventories can help fill in the details of the map in the Middle Ages and beyond.[11] Amassing data relating to scribal behavior, dialectal coloring, and the details of *mise-en-texte* can be tedious and time-consuming work, but if the benefits of manuscript-centered study are to be fully realized, it must be done. This kind of all-encompassing scholarship demands the deployment of the kind of skill sets that one individual is unlikely to be able to master in a lifetime and consequently necessitates collaboration between specialists of different kinds: philologists, codicologists, paleographers, historians, and art historians, to name but a few.

The traditional view of the development of secular narrative in French is that the *chanson de geste* became established first as a statement and reflection of feudal society and political identities and that romance developed later in tandem with the rise of courts, courtliness, and courtly love.[12] Vernacular saints' lives are considered to be more or less contemporary with epic, and both influence the rise of romance. If we take into account the growth of prose as a second medium of romance, the period in question would be approximately from the beginning of the twelfth century through the middle of the thirteenth. The *lai breton* develops alongside Arthurian romance, while the *fabliau* (a humorous counterweight to the *lai*) is generally said to gain traction toward the very end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century. Collections of moral tales, such as the *Vie des pères*, Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles nostre Dame*, or the various versions of the *Ysopet* (Aesopic fables), are composed in the course of the second half of the twelfth and first half of the thirteenth century. Other narratives that fall outside of the traditional genre system are slotted into the framework at appropriate moments. Such a scheme can, needless to say, be extended to the rest of the Middle Ages, and elaborated for lyric, drama, and any other type of text. If such systems have the advantage of offering a means of organizing a huge corpus of literature and orienting ourselves tentatively within it, they are by definition imperfect and should be recognized as such. More seriously, they are artificial, albeit necessary, constructs, which frequently correspond to what scholars want to see and to their need for categorization rather than the reality of textual transmission and reception.[13] There are, of course, dangers inherent in an exclusively manuscript-oriented approach to medieval literature,

the principal one being the consideration of one context to the exclusion of another. If the "recueil" offers a rich field for contextual reading, the single-item codex still demands an intertextual approach that sets texts and manuscripts alongside one another. If an illuminated manuscript of, say, Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles nostre Dame* provides ample evidence for a study of text and image, the relationship of the miracle tale to secular narrative forms, such as Arthurian romance, can only be brought to the fore by considering the chronological and the intertextual. The art historical significance of such manuscripts as St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, F. v. XIV. 9 or BnF fr. 25532 tend to distract the attention from the textual and intertextual, replacing, as we have suggested, one context by another.

Taking verse romance as a first example, the chronological sequence in terms of composition is usually given as *romans antiques* (*Thèbes*, *Troie*, *Eneas*, *Alexandre*), contemporary with Wace's *Brut*, Chrétien de Troyes, contemporary with the *Tristan* romances of Béroul and Thomas, and non-Arthurian texts such as *Partonopeu de Blois* and the works of Gautier d'Arras. Bearing in mind the difficulty involved in dating these texts with anything resembling accuracy, the sequence can at best be considered permanently provisional. Rather than quibble about relative dating in cases where priority cannot be established, it may be more fruitful to look to the manuscript transmission of the romance corpus for another kind of history, in this case, a reception-oriented one.

The first point to underline here is the almost complete absence of first-generation manuscripts, contemporary with the composition of the works, that is to say, the first stage in the textual transmission.[14] By definition, then, only the text itself (and even this is assuming that it bears a reasonably close relationship to that of the author) can be used to draw conclusions concerning its significance for its first audiences. What later manuscripts tell us is how texts may have been viewed by manuscript planners, scribes, artists, and readers or listeners at the time a particular book was made. A survey of the manuscript corpus of early romances produces some interesting results. For example, most of the texts are preserved in insular as well as continental copies, and the romances of antiquity are also transmitted in copies made by Italian scribes. The former are usually early (late twelfth–early thirteenth century) and the latter somewhat later (late thirteenth and the first decades of the fourteenth century). Taken together with copies made in the various regional dialects of the hexagon, the manuscript transmission begins to draw a map of medieval Francophonia, from the British Isles in the North to Italy in the South. Later manuscripts

of mostly prose chronicles will extend the map to the Crusader kingdoms of the Levant and Cyprus. The attribution of manuscripts to particular locations can therefore indicate the popularity of texts in different regions of medieval Francophonia and raise questions concerning the tastes of local audiences and readers. There is, of course, no denying the centrality (in all senses of the word) of literature and manuscripts produced within the limits of what is more or less present-day continental France, but the map resulting from the study we propose shows surprising early activity on its western edge (England and western France) and later in the East.[15] In addition to manuscripts of the *langue d'oïl*, Italy was the origin of some of the principal copies of the Occitan lyric.[16]

A further example of how consideration of manuscript transmission can inform our view of an author and his/her works is a set of fragments from what is usually known as the Annonay manuscript, which was in all likelihood an early copy of Chrétien's collected romances. The medieval awareness of an oeuvre is confirmed by this manuscript, underlining the importance of examining fragments as well as complete copies of texts.[17] Running counter to this awareness of an oeuvre is the case of the *lais* of Marie de France. Attributed to Marie only in BL Harley 978, the transmission of the *lais* outside of this manuscript is one of the disappearing author, perhaps the "disappeared" author, where remaining copies surround one or more *lais*, rendered anonymous by other examples of the genre or texts of different kinds. The disappearing of Marie might be seen as undermining the minor industry that has arisen around her name and the traditional classification of *lais bretons* into Marie's and those considered anonymous. A case in point is BnF nouv. acq. fr. 1104, which in its present state contains eight *lais* usually attributed to Marie (the attribution appears only in Harley 978, however) and sixteen others, some of which appear to stretch the boundaries of the classic *lai*. The case of Marie or not-Marie is further complicated by the witness of Denis Piramus and the tenacity of Marie's authorship in manuscripts of the *Ysopet*.[18] Nothing is as clear-cut as scholarship would like it to be. Although Chrétien's romances are often separated from one another in the transmission, his identity is not usually removed in the course of copying or compilation.

The typology or taxonomy of manuscripts of the *chanson de geste* in many ways actually confirms the view of traditional literary history. The Oxford *Chanson de Roland* (Oxford, Bodleian Library Digby 23, England, s. 12$^{\text{med.}}$) is the earliest of all Old French epic manuscripts, while other early texts (such as the *Chanson de Guillaume*) are first transmitted in single-item codices before being modified to enable their role in

the process of cycle-formation.[19] Although fragmentary transmission makes definitive conclusions difficult to draw, it could be argued, for example, that Cambridge, University Library Additional 2751 (14) and St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia Fr. O. v. XIV. 6 (s. 13$^{\text{in.}}$) of *Aliscans* (from the same manuscript) are typical of a very modest early single-item codex, while Oxford, Bodleian Library French e. 32 of *La chevalerie Vivien* and *Aliscans* represents an early stage in the process of epic cyclification, before the manufacture of such manuscripts as BnF fr. 24369–70 and BL Royal 20. D. XI (s. 14$^{1/2}$). If this is not a radical revision of the standard view, it is important to note that most of the manuscripts of the *chanson de geste* were produced in the same periods and frequently by the same workshops and *libraires* who made copies of romances, collections of moral tales, and so on (fr. 24369–70, for example, is from the workshop of the so-called *Fauvel* Master).[20] Some individual epics are found alongside romances and other texts in collective codices, reminding us of the shared readership and audience of the wider corpus of medieval French literature. The manuscript evidence confirms what Sarah Kay has called "the *chanson de geste* in the age of romance."[21] To take just the case of romance, works by Chrétien de Troyes are found, for instance, alongside *Fierabras* in BnF fr. 12603 (s. 13/14) and El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio M. III. 21 (s. 13$^{3/4}$), *Garin de Monglane* in BnF fr. 24403 (s. 13$^{4/4}$), or *Girart de Viane* in BnF fr. 1374 (s. 13$^{\text{med.}}$). Epics continued to be written, copied, and received at the same time as romances and many other types of narrative literature. While the compositional chronology of romance and epic presented in traditional literary histories may be, and most likely is, generally correct, after its initial period of reception by its primary audience, the *chanson de geste* migrates through later copies to a wider and more diverse public.[22]

Reading in context and in sequence becomes especially fruitful in the case of shorter narratives, the *fabliaux* among others. If longer romances and epics must have been read or performed by episodes and in multiple sessions, the brevity of shorter works allowed for reception of several poems in a single sitting. A performer, of course, could have selected poems from any part of a codex at will (as could an individual reader), but the thematic grouping of poems in pairs or threes or even larger groupings does suggest conscious planning and arrangement of some kind. A pair of *fabliaux* might both portray a lecherous priest, for example. One poem might show a willing female accomplice while another might have the woman and her husband deceive the priest and bring him to a painful conclusion. Another sequence of *fabliaux* might be followed by a pious or

didactic poem, which could function as a moral to one or all of the comic tales or stand in shocking contrast to what could be regarded as scurrilous, sexual, or scatological humor. Scatology might even be followed by eschatology. This is what has been called "the scandal of the *fabliaux* manuscripts," although the term "*fabliaux* manuscripts" is something of a misnomer in light of the varied contents of most of the major collections.[23] Some of these manuscripts (for example, BnF fr. 837, fr. 19152, and Bern, Burgerbibliothek 354) have been referred to above during the discussion of the "recueil," the dynamics of which are just beginning to be understood.

Another approach to reading in manuscript in the case of texts transmitted in multiple copies is to take a single poem and compare its contexts in the various codices in which it appears. Such a comparison can sometimes reveal diverging views of a text from one manuscript compiler or planner to another. What is found on either side of the text under consideration may prefigure or consolidate themes or motifs, while the central text may cast retrospective or prospective light on its codicological company. Take as an example *Le songe d'Enfer* by Raoul de Houdenc. This allegorical dream vision of the road to Hell and its central banquet offers diverse possibilities for planners, who might focus on the allegorical mode, the infernal theme, the gastronomy, or the humor (among other features) in order to anchor the text in a manuscript.[24] The case of *Le songe d'Enfer* is in many ways instructive, for in addition to the readings suggested by its position in sequences of texts, the variety of manuscripts in which it is preserved, all from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, precludes any notion of homogeneity. It occurs in some of the celebrated "recueils" (BnF fr. 837, fr. 1593, fr. 2168, Bern, Burgerbibliothek 354, Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale e Universitaria L. V. 32), a bilingual French–Latin book (Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale 1275), with Jean de Meun's *Testament* in Yale University, Beinecke Library 703, or on its own in BnF fr. 25433, and in the important trilingual manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library Digby 86, from Worcestershire in the English West Midlands. BnF fr. 25433 appears to have been copied in the south of the *langue d'oïl* area. Although we admit the possibility of random arrangement, common sense alone dictates that the person responsible for the gathering and arrangement of texts within a manuscript must have considered the pros and cons of sequencing texts in a particular order. In a sense, the point is moot, as it involves the unknowable matter of "compilatorial intention." The sequence of texts in a book is what it is, even in cases of composite manuscripts bound and perhaps misbound over the years to form a new "recueil" or "miscellany."[25] The contextual reading of medieval literature

in a "miscellany" is, of course, open to the reproach of implausibility, exaggeration, or *hineininterpretieren*, as has been argued in the context of Middle English by Derek Pearsall.[26]

Critical editions of medieval texts of whatever kind rarely include more than passing reference to decorative aspects of *mise-en-page* such as pen-flourished initials, illuminations, and rubrics. An editor may print a capital or bold letter to indicate the location of a pen-flourished initial in the base manuscript, but other copies may place initials in different locations, articulating the narrative differently. The same is true for the placement of miniatures and their accompanying rubrics (where present), but the visual details, their style, and arrangement, and any extra-textual commentary in the rubrics can be clear indications of reception and perceived meaning. There has been some scholarship in what is usually known as "word and image studies," but the vast majority of vernacular manuscripts have not been the object of such investigation, in all likelihood because the attention of art historians has been directed to more spectacular religious books and because only a few literary scholars have engaged art historians as collaborators.[27] Later cyclical manuscripts of the *chanson de geste* and collections of exempla and didactic tales (such as the *Ysopet*, Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles*, and *La vie des pères*) would lend themselves to such examination.

A majority of manuscript-oriented studies of medieval texts tend to the synchronic and offer snapshots, as it were, of a particular manuscript or group of manuscripts at a specific point in time.[28] All of the issues discussed above also lend themselves to a diachronic approach once a sufficient body of synchronic data has been made available. In other words, what has come to be known as "material philology" can provide the basis for a history that traces the reception of texts and text-types through the Middle Ages and possibly beyond. This may come to be known as a "philology of reception."[29] In addition to the codicological and paleographical elements mentioned above, the post-production history of manuscripts can be in part reconstructed from marginal annotations and glosses, as well as simple marks of ownership and booklists. Taken together, these elements may be considered a collective "paratext."

Surveying the extant corpus of medieval French vernacular manuscripts and examining as many as possible in the kind of detail current scholarship demands is taxing and time-consuming, although it is likely to generate a serious and substantial complement to traditional literary histories, an alternative view, albeit not a substitute. As well as changing the map of Francophone culture and dissociating "medieval French" from the modern

hexagon, we would argue that there are two further major conclusions to be drawn that would otherwise remain concealed from view. One has to do with the very corpus of texts that constitute medieval French literature. In terms of the canon of what is usually taught, researched, and the coverage provided in standard reference works (outside of the *Grundriß der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*), the works appointed and anointed by scholars are of a limited range. Manuscript evidence points not to the general categorization of texts and their detachment from contexts, but rather a gradual expansion of the corpus, consolidation and integration of works that may have initially been destined for quite well-defined audiences. Generic distinctions with respect to form, style, and subject matter seem to become blurred or at least less marked within the binding of a manuscript. This is a broad generalization as regards narrative literature, and further research would show whether and to what extent the *grand chant courtois* and drama, for example, conform to this model. Certainly, some larger collective manuscripts place devotional, biblical, and apocryphal works alongside secular narrative. As an example, we may take the case of the translations and adaptations in the *langue d'oïl* of the *Elucidarium* of Honorius Augustodunensis. The earliest copies and redactions are Anglo-Norman and restricted to a religious context, while later ones are continental and included in collective manuscripts, which appear increasingly secular. London, Lambeth Palace Library 431 may be as early as the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; it is Anglo-Norman and accompanied by a Latin text of the *Elucidarium* and a vernacular paraphrase of Psalm 51. Oxford, Bodleian Library Douce 270 (1225–6) contains the sermons of Maurice de Sully and *La vie de saint Nicholas* by Wace, and was produced for the Benedictines of St. Cuthbert's, Durham. This monastic context provides a startling contrast with the continental transmission of the *Lucidaire* in such manuscripts as BnF fr. 24432 (probably Soissons, *c.*1345) – which contains a number of secular works (the *lai* of *Yonec* and the *fabliau* of *Boivin de Provins*, for example) as well as other didactic texts – or fr. 2168 (s. 13$^{ex.}$), copied in Picardy, and containing *lais*, *fabliaux*, romances, and didactic works. The latter is also the unique manuscript of *Aucassin et Nicolete*.

The other, related, conclusion concerns relative numbers of manuscripts, which do not always correspond to the prominence accorded certain texts in literary histories or to the number of studies devoted to them by scholars. If there are plenty of manuscripts of, say, the romances of Chrétien de Troyes or the prose *Lancelot-Graal* cycle, and a large number of *Le roman de la rose*, there is only one of the first *Chanson de Roland*, one

of *Aucassin et Nicolette*, and one of Béroul's *Tristan*. The case of *La chanson de Roland* is salutary, as only the Oxford text is today canonical. There are in fact six basic versions, each with its own manuscript context, of different dates and geographical provenance. It would be more accurate to speak of the *Chansons de Roland* in the plural, just as we might query the existence of anything other than a notional version of *Le roman de Renart* or *Le roman d'Alexandre*, the manuscripts of which defy reduction to a base redaction. While historical accident may have deprived us of multiple copies of these latter texts, the overall survival rate most likely reflects the medieval situation. More distorting is the modern neglect of texts that seem to have been enormously popular in, say, the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, largely, one suspects, because they are regarded as dull, excessively long, or difficult to negotiate. Rather than an expression of the "unjustly neglected text" topos, we make a plea here for the reintegration of some widely read works into the mainstream of modern scholarship. For romance narrative, such texts as *Athis et Prophilias*, *Florimont*, and the prose versions of the *Sept sages de Rome* come to mind, and *Les voeux du paon* as a late avatar of the Alexander tradition.[30] Only recently are Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de nostre Dame* beginning to attract the kind of attention that reflects their rich manuscript transmission,[31] and scholars are starting to consider didactic and encyclopedic texts, such as the versions of the *Lucidaire* just mentioned, Frère Laurent's *La somme roi*, Brunetto Latini's *Tresor*,[32] and *L'image du monde* of Gossouin de Metz, transmitted in large numbers of copies, as worthy of their attention. Historiographical works such as *L'histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, *Les faits des romains*, and the vernacular versions of Guillaume de Tyr also survive in considerable numbers and would need to be included to complete the picture.

## ITALIAN

The above discussion of the French tradition also applies *grossomodo* to medieval Italian literature, and we will begin our consideration of a revised history of medieval Italian literature with some observations on the textual transmission for a number of genres and the implications of low and high numbers of codices. If a text is extant in just one codex, it does not necessarily mean that it has less value than another. Indeed, we should be grateful that it has survived to our day and should take especial care to determine its place in the tradition and its potential influence. By the same token, for a text with many surviving exemplars, our philological task is complicated by the need to determine both the various roads of

transmission and to establish a reliable text (or texts). Moreover, we must inquire as to the reasons for its bountiful survival, its contemporary popularity, and its probable influence. We are sometimes surprised to learn that some texts that are very popular among modern readers – say, the contrasto by Cielo d'Alcamo, "Rosa fresca aulentissima" – survive in only one manuscript, given the importance we attach to them.[33] We are often surprised for very different reasons to learn that a particular text – say, Fazio degli Uberti's *Il Dittamondo* – is extant in many codices, for it remains virtually unknown and unread today. What was its appeal then? And why did it fall out of favor? Conversely, why was the survival rate so low for texts we deem so important today? These questions are germane to the sort of new literary history based on manuscript sources that we envision.

We are fortunate to possess what little we have of the early Italian poetic tradition, for a large number of texts survive only in a single manuscript. To this point Gianfranco Folena once observed that, if the major late thirteenth-century collection of Italian lyrics, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (= BAV) Vat. Latino MS 3793, were not to exist, the poetic production of the thirteenth century would be reduced by half, and many poets would be unknown.[34] The three earliest literary texts in Italian, the so-called *ritmi* (Laurenziano,[35] Cassinese,[36] and Sant'Alessio[37]), are contained as appendages or interpolations in Latin manuscripts and are unique survivors of an early jongleuresque tradition in Italy. However, one of the earliest texts in the Italian tradition survives in more than sixty manuscripts:[38] Francis of Assisi's aptly named, unrhymed hymn of praise to the creator God for His many munificent gifts, the "Cantico di Frate Sole" ("Cantico delle creature" or "Laudes creaturarum").[39]

In terms of *mise-en-livre*, these early texts by different authors are collected in the same manuscripts – for example, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Hamilton 390 groups Gerardo Pateg's *Splanamento de li Proverbi di Salamone*, Uguccione da Lodi's *Libro*, and the anonymous misogynistic poem *Proverbia quae dicuntur super natura feminarum*.[40] Other manuscripts are devoted to the works of a single author, such as Bonvesin da la Riva, the most prolific of the Northern Italian poets who composed a variety of religious and didactic poems (e.g., the *Libro delle tre scritture*, which is thematically another precursor of Dante's *Comedy*),[41] and Pietro da Barsegapé, a Milanese poet whose sole work, the *Sermone* in rhyming or assonanced couplets in various meters, is found in only one codex.[42] This poetic genre fared better in Tuscany: Brunetto Latini's allegorical dream vision, *Il tesoretto* in rhymed couplets (*settenari*), is contained in some fifteen manuscripts, which may attest at least in part to

the greater accessibility of that dialect to a wider audience.[43] Nevertheless, the 309-stanza allegorical poem *Intelligenza* survives in only two codices.[44] The *Mare amoroso*, a repository (in 334 verses) of metaphors, similes, and topoi related to the amorous experience, is extant in only one manuscript – Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 2908 – where it follows Brunetto Latini's *Tesoretto* and *Favolello*, and this placement in the codex gave rise to questions of authorship.[45] Narrative poetry on more secular topics was often composed in ottava rima (ABABABCC) – as, for example, three works by Boccaccio: *Ninfale fiesolano* (forty-eight codices), *Il Filostrato* (seventy codices), and the *Teseida* (autograph + sixty-one manuscripts) – and this meter became the preferred form for Italian epic poetry. The *cantari* developed from the oral performances of jongleurs in the town square present a wide thematic variety, from ancient history and mythology to Arthurian romance and contemporary historical events and religious subjects.[46] While some of these popular poems are extant in a single codex,[47] others survive in numerous copies (e.g., *La regina dell'oriente* and *Il libro di Fiorio e Biancifiore*, seven codices each).

One of Dante's greatest contributions to Italian literature was his invention of terza rima, which became, no doubt because of the example presented by the *Comedy*, the preferred metrical scheme for virtually all allegorical poems[48] – often dream visions – in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Some of these survive in many manuscripts, as, for example, Fazio degli Uberti's *Il Dittamondo* (fifty-seven manuscripts, of which twelve are fragmentary) and Federico Frezzi's *Quadriregio* (about thirty codices), as well as Boccaccio's *Amorosa visione* and *Caccia di Diana*[49] and Petrarch's *Trionfi*.[50] If the number of manuscripts measures popularity, then these works once enjoyed enormous success, but now they attract only antiquarian interest. Petrarch's *Trionfi* probably had the most enduring *Nachleben*, especially in the Renaissance with the appearance of many editions, translations, and other artistic and cultural manifestations in a pan-European context.[51]

Moral-religious literature in prose is primarily a Tuscan phenomenon and encompasses several genres. Most (thirty-five) of Guittone d'Arezzo's letters survive, largely in the important early codex Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (= BML) Redi 9,[52] and this codex will be treated more extensively below. In the fourteenth century, the numerous manuscripts (fifty +) of Catherine of Siena's letters attest to the renown of the author. Other religious writings in prose are well represented in the manuscript tradition, as, for example, the *Fioretti di San Francesco*, a translation of the *Actus beati Francisci et sociorum eius*, is extant in some eighty-five

manuscripts, and the works by Domenico Cavalca (*Vite dei santi padri*, thirty-one codices) and Jacopo Passavanti (*Specchio di vera penitenza*, thirteen codices). Over the past forty years homiletic literature has been the subject of much research,[53] and we note, in particular, the popularity of the sermons of Giordano da Pisa, which survive in almost forty codices.[54]

The *novella* tradition begins in Tuscany in the late thirteenth century with the 100 tales of the *Novellino*, extant in some nine codices, some dating from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Boccaccio develops this genre with the *Decameron*, for which we possess not only the important, yet incomplete, autograph manuscript (Hamilton 90), but also more than ninety other complete or partial manuscript copies.[55] In terms of their manuscript tradition, the other *novellieri* of the Trecento pale in comparison: Giovanni Sercambi's *Novelle* are extant in only two manuscripts; Ser Giovanni Fiorentino's *Il pecorone* is present in three complete and four partial codices, most of them dating from the fifteenth century; and Franco Sacchetti's *Trecentonovelle* survives only in three sixteenth-century copies made by Vincenzo Borghini, and this contrasts with the autograph manuscript we possess of his *Rime*.[56] It would appear that the effect of Boccaccio's *Decameron* on the development of the genre was both salutary, in that it established the *novella* as a high art form, and detrimental, in that the excellence of his 100 tales may have discouraged widespread imitation, at least in the early centuries.

Among the prose romances we note the influence of the French Arthurian tradition: the *Tristano Riccardiano* (four codices) the *Tavola ritonda* (three codices), the *Inchiesta del san Gradale*, and others. The relatively few manuscripts containing Italian versions of Arthurian romance is surprising, given the popularity of these tales in Italy, a popularity that may be gauged by the appearance of Arthurian characters and themes in a wide variety of genres (lyric poetry, *cantari*, *novelle*).[57] Perhaps one reason for the relatively few codices of the prose romances is the ease with which the French romances were accessible and understandable in their native language, thus obviating the necessity of multiple codices. Similar remarks could be made about another prose narrative translated from the French: the *Milione* by Marco Polo, in which he relates his fabulous adventures in foreign lands. We can also see the lure of the exotic for Italian readers in the translations and adaptations made of other texts, such as the Seven Sages of Rome (*Sette savi*), the *Storia di Troia* (from the Old French prose versions of the *Roman de Troie*), and others. Often termed the "first novel of modern Europe,"[58] Boccaccio's *Filocolo* narrates the story of Florio and Biancifiore (extant in forty-seven codices), and his *Elegia di Madonna*

*Fiammetta* (about thirty codices) has been rightly called the first psychological novel, for in it the title character provides a first-person account of her suffering because of love.

This brief codicological survey suggests that, just as in the French tradition, manuscripts of Italian works in various genres survive in greater or fewer numbers, which may or may not provide insight on their popularity at the time. Our point is that numbers *can be* important indicators and *should be* considered in any reassessment of the literary history of the period. In terms of numbers alone, the hands-down "bestseller" of the Italian Middle Ages – and probably of all medieval literature – is Dante's *Divine comedy*, surviving in some 800 codices, dating from the decade following the poet's death in 1321 through the fifteenth century, though none in his own hand.[59] Moreover, for most of Dante's minor works there is a sizeable manuscript tradition: *Vita nova* (eighty codices);[60] *Monarchia* (eighteen codices); *De vulgari eloquentia* (three principal manuscripts and two later copies of one of these); the "Letter to Cangrande" (nine); *Convivio* (forty manuscripts); and the number of codices containing one or more of Dante's *Rime* is huge, some 500 in De Robertis's census.[61]

We will now focus on early Italian lyric poetry – and particularly on the pre-Dante, pre-Stil Novo production – and the challenges and opportunities its manuscript tradition poses. In a nutshell, the history of thirteenth-century lyric poetry has been described as a linear movement from its first flowering (in imitation of Occitan models) in the hands of the Sicilian poets at the court of Emperor Frederick II,[62] then through their imitators and a host of thematic and metrical innovators in Tuscany and Northern Italy (especially Bologna) and up to the so-called School of the Dolce Stil Novo. Dante discusses this development in *Purgatory* XXIV, where the poet Bonagiunta da Lucca asks Dante the pilgrim if he is "the one who brought forth those new rhymes, / begun with 'Ladies that have intelligence of Love'" ("Ma dì s' i' veggio qui colui che fore / trasse le nove rime, cominciando / 'Donne ch' avete intelletto d' amore,'" vv. 49–51).[63] Dante's answer – "I am one who, when Love / inspires me, take note and, as he dictates / deep within me, so I set it forth" ("I' mi son un che, quando / Amor mi spira, noto, e a quel modo / ch' e' ditta dentro vo significando," vv. 52–4) – unleashes Bonagiunta's effusive reply – "O my brother, now I understand the knot / that kept the Notary, Guittone, and me / on this side of the sweet new style I hear!" ("O frate, issa vegg' io … il nodo / che 'l Notaro e Guittone e me ritenne / di qua dal dolce stil novo ch' i' odo!" vv. 55–7) – in which he clearly indicates the successive phases or periods in the history of lyric poetry by naming the leaders of

the several schools (the "capiscuola"): the notary Giacomo da Lentini (and the Sicilian poets), Guittone d'Arezzo (and his adherents), Bonagiunta (and other Tuscan poets), and Dante (and the "stilnovisti").[64] While the meaning of these verses has been the subject of a long and lively critical debate, I hasten to note that our concern here is only to suggest that an investigation of the manuscript tradition may, or may not, support Dante's opinions on the relative merits of earlier poets and on the history of the lyric, views that have assumed, rightly or wrongly, canonical status, simply because they come from the master's pen.

Dante's overview of the lyric tradition is very similar to that provided by the well-known codex BAV Vat. Latino 3793 and to a lesser degree by two other codices: BML Redi 9[65] and Florence, BNC Banco Rari 217.[66] We believe that BAV Vat. Latino 3793 (or a closely related but unidentified codex, described as its "twin") was known by Dante and had a decisive shaping effect on two of his projects:[67] the *Vita nova* (in the 1290s) and *DVE* (in the first decade of the fourteenth century).[68] In Book I of the latter work Dante analyzes the various dialects of Italy to determine the characteristics of what would be an excellent literary idiom, and in Book II he discusses the themes and technical features of the metrical form, the canzone,[69] in which this illustrious language would be properly employed. Dante's selection of exemplary poets and poems from the Italian tradition appears to reflect his reading of and meditation on BAV Vat. Latino 3793.[70] The codex is divided into two major sections – canzoni and sonnets – and the first three quires are replete with Sicilian poets, to whom Dante gives a special place in his treatise, when he says: "the Sicilian vernacular seems to hold itself in higher regard than any other, first because all poetry written by Italians is called 'Sicilian,' and then because we do indeed find that many learned natives of that island have written serious poetry" (*DVE* I. xii.2).[71] Indeed, the very first poem in the Vatican manuscript is Giacomo da Lentini's canzone "Madonna dir vi voglio," which Dante praised (*DVE* I.xii.8). Other important canzoni cited by Dante are Rinaldo d'Aquino's "Per fino amore vo sì letamente" (*DVE* I.xii.8 and II.v.4) and Guido delle Colonne's "Amor che lungiamente m'hai menato" (*DVE* I.xii.2).[72] Dante also acknowledges the excellence of Guinizzelli's canzone "Madonna il fino amore ch'io vi porti" (*DVE* I.xv.6), which prominently opens the sixth quire of MS 3793. Conversely, in his treatise Dante also criticizes certain poems in the Vatican manuscript: for example, in his examination of certain dialects and their worthiness, he complains about the prolonged cadences of Sicilian used in the *contrasto* "Rosa fresca aulentissima," which opens the fourth quire and is extant only in this codex.[73] Dante also disparages a

number of Tuscan poets – Guittone, Bonagiunta, Galletto Pisano, Brunetto Latini, and others – whose language and style he determines to be inferior, more suitable for a "city council" than for a "court" (*DVE* I.xiii.1). The canzoni by these authors comprise more than half the total in the first section of MS 3793 (almost 200 poems in quires 6 through 13). In *DVE* Dante favorably cites two other canzoni present in MS 3793: Guinizzelli's doctrinal canzone, "Al cor gentil repara sempre amore" (cited twice, *DVE* I. ix.3 and II.v.4), and his own "Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore" (cited twice, *DVE* II.viii.8 and II.xii.3), which would become the first canzone in the *Vita nova*. Immediately following "Donne ch'avete" in BAV Vat. Latino 3793 is the canzone in response *per le rime* by the so-called Amico di Dante, "Ben aggia l'amoroso e dolce core," which, in Justin Steinberg's well-chosen words, "turns Dante's poem into a playful dialogue between male and female protagonists"; and further, " 'Donne ch'avete' is read as an example of the insincere, dialogic poetics characterizing the pre-stilnovo and Guittonian tradition."[74] Given the concern Dante expressed in the *Vita nova* about the reception and interpretation of "Donne ch'avete,"[75] he may have composed the *Vita nova* as a way of "setting the record straight," of correcting misinterpretations of his canzone as it was presented and circulated in BAV Vat. Latino 3793 by providing, through the *Vita nova*, the proper context in which to read, understand, and evaluate his dramatically new canzone. Moreover, Dante may have perceived the inclusion of only one of his poems in this collection – when compared to the overwhelming numerical presence in BAV Vat. Latino 3793 of poems by those he deemed "municipal" rhymers – Guittone, Chiaro Davanzati, Monte Andrea, and Rustico di Filippo – as a professional affront, a personal slight.[76] And this would have encouraged him to compile his own historically oriented and critically annotated poetic "anthology," the *Vita nova*. As some critics have noted, it seems likely that thirteenth-century poets circulated their poems in small gatherings, mini-songbooks, and that these then became the basis for the larger *canzonieri*.[77] In this sense BAV Vat. Latino 3793 would be not only the major poetic repository of the early Italian lyric, the orderly collection of many mini-songbooks,[78] but also the stimulus for other compilations, such as Dante's *Vita nova*.[79] Entire quires in BAV Vat. Latino 3793 are dedicated to individual poets (e.g., Guittone, Chiaro Davanzati, Monte Andrea, and Rustico Filippi),[80] and the sheer size of the codex – almost 1,000 poems – underlines its crucial role in their transmission and even, at times, their very survival, as noted above.

Two other major late thirteenth-century manuscripts add to the picture we have of early Italian poetry. BML Redi 9, ostensibly a monument

to Guittone d'Arezzo,[81] has three major divisions: prose letters (mostly by Guittone), canzoni, and sonnets.[82] The first canzone in the codex – "Ora parrà s'io saverò cantare" – is fra Guittone's post-religious conversion declaration of his new poetic subject matter. Although the poetry section does not order Guittone's poetry chronologically, the manuscript, as Olivia Holmes has so incisively put it, "tells the story of conversion from a postconversion, retrospective position, which provides it with narrative closure. Although the lyric romance told by the poetry begins *in medias res*, we are made aware from the very first word ("ora" [now]) of the first *canzone* that it has historical dimensions, for the poet self-consciously contrasts his present manner of singing with a previous one," and these earlier, secular and amorous, poems are "contained later in the codex."[83]

The third early codex, BNC Banco Rari 217, is the shortest but most elegant manuscript of the three because of its many fine miniatures, which depict the poets and often portray certain situations in their lyrics.[84] The codex is divided into three sections by metrical form – canzoni, *ballate*, and sonnets – and this division conforms to Dante's presumed hierarchy of poetic forms as found in *De vulgari eloquentia*.[85] All three of these songbooks lead up to but offer only tentative gestures toward Dante and the poets of the Dolce Stil Novo.[86]

In recent years scholars have examined these three codices to determine how, in their materiality, they reflect certain aspects of and reasons for their compilation. In particular, Steinberg has proposed an original and eminently plausible interpretation of the meaning, form, and scope of BAV Vat. Latino 3793, essentially arguing that it was compiled to further the social and political interests of the Florentine merchants. As a result, a different picture of Duecento lyric poetry has emerged from the one promulgated so effectively by Dante, who knew that in his lyrics, in *DVE,* and in the *Comedy*, he had to rise above local, municipal, political, and commercial interests in order to embrace and engage greater, sublime themes and to do so in a more elegant language and style. However, we must remember that at issue here is not which perspective is correct – Dante's or that of BAV Vat. Latino 3793 – for, indeed, each one is valid for a particular audience at a particular time, but both must be considered to allow us to see the whole picture. Nevertheless, the effect of Dante's prestige and influence has been such that we have generally failed to recognize the merits of those poets who were not among his "elect" group and whose verses treated more mundane topics and used a less elegant language. Only through the thorough and systematic examination of the

various manuscripts containing lyric poetry can we begin to rewrite the history of this inventive period.[87]

And what shape would that new manuscript history of lyric poetry have? While the general outline would not undergo major changes, more equitable treatment would be given to those poets and poems that have not been generally appreciated for the witness they bear to the vitality and diversity of lyric production in thirteenth-century Italy. A more detailed picture of the substantial and variegated literary tradition would emerge against which Dante (and other poets) reacted, negatively or positively. As indicated in *DVE*, Dante acknowledged the excellence of the Sicilian court poets and apparently recognized the powerful impact that Guittone had on the course of lyric poetry, even though he – Dante – apparently could not abide the Aretine's obvious success or fully understand or appreciate his influence.[88] The poets about whom Dante remains silent (Chiaro, Monte, Rustico) or nearly so (Guittone) are the proverbial "elephants in the room": big, imposing, but consciously avoided and excluded from the discussion.[89] The history of lyric poetry in thirteenth-century Italy needs to be reconstructed from a strictly contemporary codicological and non-Dantean perspective, for the whole story and the lessons to be learned will only be discovered and told through continuing detailed research on the individual components and organizational principles of the three major codices[90] – BAV Vat. Latino 3793, BML Redi 9, BNC Banco Rari 217, as well as a few fragmentary ones. Such a history would be presented following these basic lines of inquiry: 1) the thematic continuity of the Occitan love poem and its adaptations to the new sociopolitical and intellectual environments; 2) the invention and development of the sonnet as the most versatile Italian metrical form, as well as the advent and contributions of other new forms (the *ballata* and *lauda*) to the lyric tradition; 3) the expansion of lyric poetry in the post-Frederician period to embrace a wide variety of moral, philosophical, political, social, and religious topics; 4) the development and increasing importance of the tenzone, both real and fictive, as the locus of amorous and civic debate, ethical engagement, and comedic virtuosity; and 5) the importance of author-generated "mini-songbooks," which, forming distinct, continuous narratives, were subsequently incorporated into larger *canzonieri*. In this "new" literary history of the Italian lyric we would then move forward to Dante and his fellow "stilnovisti" and from them to the ever-widening panorama of lyric poetry in the fourteenth century, as manifested in numerous codices and ever greater numbers of practitioners.[91] Dante's "poetic superiority" should be seen as only one part of the evolving story.

In this chapter we have suggested ways of viewing medieval French and Italian literature from the perspective of the surviving manuscript tradition, ways that take into consideration such factors as relative numbers of extant witnesses, diversity among genres, and the sobering reality that we will probably never know the whole story of this vibrant literary tradition nor will we ever have the presumptive textual certainty that derives from the examination of author-approved manuscripts. Even in the presence of author-approved texts – as, for example, Petrarch's *Canzoniere*[92] – questions arise that defy easy solutions. If one important lesson can be learned, it is this: most if not all edited/printed texts should be viewed with a critical eye as being provisional, generally imperfect manifestations of what an author may have written or wanted to say, whose accuracy is, and may always be, open to debate many centuries after their composition. All things considered, we welcome the many and difficult challenges that medieval texts in manuscript pose and look forward to the rewards that such research will bring, as we work toward a manuscript history of medieval French and Italian literature.

## NOTES

1 Examples of such histories for French are Baumgartner, *Histoire de la littérature française* and Zink, *Introduction à la littérature française*. Such overviews provide an excellent point of departure for students, but need to be supplemented by a more manuscript-oriented history. The *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises* pays scant attention to the manuscript transmission of medieval literature. Examples for Italian include Cecchi and Sapegno, eds., *Storia della letteratura italiana*; Asor Rosa, ed., *Letteratura italiana*; and Pasquini and Quaglio, *Il duecento*.

2 See, for example, the important and still useful article by Jauß, "Theorie der Gattungen."

3 The phrase is found in Eliot, *Dante*, 55.

4 Busby, *Codex and context*. Major ongoing projects in the field are http://atilf.fr/cilpr2013/programme/resumes/628db6ce03ef3669a9cd7f061c1810f9.pdf and http://dynamicsofthemedievalmanuscript.eu. See also Busby, "Codex, context, continuation."

5 The Princeton Charrette (http://princeton.edu/~lancelot/ss/) was innovative but is beginning to show its age. There is an excellent *Fables Pere Aufors* (the Old French version of the *Disciplina clericalis*) at http://unige.ch/lettres/mela/recherche/disciplina.html and a useful *Partonopeu de Bois* at http://hri-online.ac.uk/partonopeus/. Among the online projects in Italian are the following: Storey, Petrarchive: an edition of Petrarch's songbook (http://dcl.slis.indiana.edu/petrarchive/); The Oregon Petrarch open book (http://petrarch.uoregon.edu/); the Dartmouth Dante Project with digitized texts of more than seventy commentaries on the *Divine Comedy* (http://dante.dartmouth.edu/);

the *Divine Comedy* image archive of the Cornell University Library (http://divinecomedy.library.cornell.edu/) with more than one thousand illustrations from printed editions; the Princeton Dante Project (http://etcweb.princeton.edu/dante/index.html); Columbia University's Digital Dante (http://dante.ilt.columbia.edu/); the University of Virginia's World of Dante (http://worldofdante.org/); the University of Texas's Danteworlds (http://danteworlds.laits.utexas.edu/); and Brown University's *Decameron* web project (http://heliotropia.org/).

6 There are plenty of digitized manuscripts, not all of the best quality, on websites of some of the major national libraries, such as http://gallica.bnf.fr/ and http://bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/welcome.htm, although these usually have no apparatus (except codicological descriptions in the case of the British Library manuscripts). Varying amounts of information on most manuscripts containing Old French can be found at http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/. The Società Dantesca Italiana's Dante Online project has the complete digitized version of thirty-three manuscripts available for consultation at www.danteonline.it/italiano/home_ita.asp. Also available on CD-ROM is D. Alighieri, *Commedia*: *a digital version*. In addition to these digitized and online resources Leonardi has coordinated a very useful series of published facsimiles and commentaries on the early Italian songbooks in the series *I canzonieri della lirica italiana delle origini*, among which are facsimiles (with DVD) of Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, BAV Vat. Latino MS 3793; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Redi MS 9; Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (= BNC), Banco Rari MS 217; El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, MS E.III.23, Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS It. IX.529, and Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2533, together with a volume of *Studi critici*, ed. Leonardi.

7 For example, M. de France, *Le lai de Lanval*, ed. Rychner; Eustache d'Amiens, *Du bouchier d'Abevile*; and in the same tradition, *Les dits d'Henri d'Andeli*. See also Lee, *Les remaniements d'Auberee*.

8 See Busby, *Codex and context*, vol. I, 127–224. We also need more of the kind of information provided by Careri et al., *Album de manuscrits français du XIIIe siècle* and Careri, Ruby, and Short, *Livres et écritures en français*.

9 Busby, *Codex and context*, vol. I, 367–484, for case studies.

10 See Huot, *From song to book*.

11 Busby, *Codex and context*, vol. II, 637–813.

12 But see Kay, *The chansons de geste*.

13 This underlines the usefulness of the type of traditional literary histories referred to in note 1 above.

14 Only ninety-seven items containing Old French and Occitan are dated to the twelfth century (the classic period of early literature in both languages) by Careri et al., *Livres et écritures en français*. The earliest manuscript of Chrétien de Troyes, for example, is Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale 942 of *Cligès*, dating from the early thirteenth century, some thirty or forty years after the

composition of the romance. See *Les manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes*, vol. II, 18–19.

15 For a first attempt at a partial "Geography of the codex," see Busby, *Codex and context*, vol. II, 485–635. The conclusions concerning production in England and the western domains are confirmed by Careri et al., *Livres et écritures en français*, xxx–xxxv. See also Gaunt, "Genres in motion," responding to Busby, *Codex and context*, and the project Medieval Francophone Literary Culture outside France (http://medievalfrancophone.ac.uk).

16 See Zufferey, *Recherches linguistiques* and Paden, "Manuscripts."

17 See *Les manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes*, vol. II, 20–2.

18 Busby, *Codex and context*, vol. I, 472–80, and Busby, "The manuscripts of Marie de France."

19 Busby, *Codex and context*, vol. I, 368–404. These single-item manuscripts should not, however, be equated with the so-called "manuscrit de jongleur" or "minstrel manuscript," the existence of which as a category has been called into serious question by Taylor, "The myth of the minstrel manuscript."

20 See Rouse and Rouse, *Illiterati et uxorati*, vol. I, 207–17 and vol. II, General Index, 379.

21 As in the title of Kay, *The chansons de geste*.

22 We also need to consider overlap here between the traditional bailiwicks of our international scholarly organizations.

23 See Busby, *Codex and context*, vol. I, 437–63, and "Fabliaux and the new codicology." See also the projects referred to in note 4 above.

24 See Busby, "Le contexte manuscrit du *Songe d'Enfer*."

25 The notion of a "miscellany" is problematic and the term needs to be used with caution, in our view. It is of interest to the two French projects referred to in note 4 above and is a topic of ongoing debate. For recent contributions, see *Le recueil au Moyen Âge: le Moyen Âge central*, ed. O. Collet and Y. Foehr-Janssens, and on the later period, *Le recueil au Moyen Âge: la fin du Moyen Âge*. On Britain, see Connolly and Radulescu, eds., *Insular books*. See also the contribution of Arthur Bahr in the present volume.

26 See Pearsall, "The whole book," who takes his title from Nichols and Wenzel, eds., *The whole book*.

27 But see *Les manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes*.

28 Durand, *Illustrations médiévales de la légende de Troie* tells us much about aspects of the diachronic reception of Benoît de Sainte-Maure's romance, following on Jung's *La légende de Troie en France*.

29 A future issue of *Medioevo Romanzo* is devoted to "una filologia della ricezione."

30 On *Les voeux du paon*, see now Bellon-Méguelle, *Du temple de Mars*, who, in the absence of an acceptable critical edition of the text, frequently refers to individual manuscripts of the poem, although the lack of real codicological analysis and study of the rich text and image tradition is regrettable. See now Leo, *Images, texts, and marginalia*.

31 See the various contributions in Krause and Stones, eds., *Gautier de Coinci*.
32 See Roux, *Mondes en miniatures*.
33 For many of the early Italian texts there has been a great deal of philological criticism directed toward the establishment and/or reconstruction of the text. See, for example, the editions of Cielo's *contrasto*, in *Poeti del duecento*, vol. I, 173–85, and *I poeti della scuola siciliana*, vol. II, 513–56.
34 Folena, "Überlieferungsgeschichte," vol. II, 375; see also Antonelli, "Struttura materiale," 8.
35 The text, some forty verses composed in *ottonari/novenari*, was written in the lower margin on the last page of codex S. Croce pl. XV, destra 6 (Florence, BML).
36 This allegorical poem presents the encounter and conversation between two men, one from the East and one from the West, who discuss their contrasting ways of life. It is composed of stanzas of rhymed *ottonari* concluding with two or three mono-rhymed hendecasyllables and was written on a blank page (104$^{v}$) in a Latin codex: Abbey of Montecassino, MS 522–32.
37 This 257-verse poem, composed of monorhymed stanzas of *ottonari/novenari/endecasillabi* concluding with a final couplet in rhymed hendecasyllables, is contained in Ascoli Piceno, Biblioteca Comunale, MS XXVI, A.51.
38 It is generally found in collections of Franciscan literature in Latin (e.g., the *Opuscula beati Francisci*, the *Speculum perfectionis*, and the *De conformitate vitae B. Francisci*).
39 Branca, *Il Cantico di Frate Sole*, provides a thorough study of the manuscript tradition.
40 All these poems incorporate fourteen-syllable lines in different configurations. The *Proverbia* (756 vv., incomplete) are composed of monorhymed four-verse strophes, while Gerardo's *Splanamento* is in rhymed couplets (606 vv.) and Uguccione's *Libro* is divided into two parts with the first composed of monorhymed stanzas with *endecasillabi* at the beginning and end of each (702 vv.) and the second part consists of *novenari* in rhymed couplets (1142 vv.). Codex Hamilton 390 is also a source for the Venetian version of the didactic work in prose, the *Disticha Catonis* (unique in this manuscript); Tuscan versions of the *Disticha* are found in some fifteen codices.
41 Other works include the *Disputatio rosae cum viola* (248 vv.) and the *De quinquaginta curialitatibus ad mensam* (204 vv.). Most of his works are found in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Ital. qu 26.
42 The work consisting of 2440 verses in multiple meters appears in Milan, Biblioteca Braidense AD.XIII.48.
43 Florence, BML, Strozzi MS 146 has many illustrations in the bottom margin; for some of these illustrations see Bolton Holloway's edition and translation: Brunetto Latini, *Il tesoretto*. His *Favolello* follows the *Tesoretto* in most of the codices.
44 It may be that the unusual metrical structure for the strophes – ABABABCCB – limited its appeal and transmission.
45 Early editors attributed the text to Brunetto, and not without some cause; however, this attribution has not generally been accepted. We remember that

Brunetto is also the author of *Li livres dou Tresor*, in French, for which two redactions in Italian were produced (five codices in all).

46 *Cantari* are composed of about forty-five octaves (ABABABCC) on a wide variety of subjects (chivalric, epic, mythological, political, religious, etc.), and the manuscripts generally date from the mid-fourteenth century. For the history of the genre and some texts, see Balduino, ed., *Cantari del trecento*; Ugolini, *I cantari d'argomento*; Levi, *I cantari leggendari*; and *Fiore di leggende*, ed. Levi.

47 For example, *Gibello*, *Il bel Gherardino*, *Bruto di Bertagna*, and *Gismirante*.

48 An exception is *L'intelligenza* (see n. 44).

49 There are two redactions of the *Amorosa visione* with a total of eight codices. The *Caccia di Diana* is extant in six codices, and the *Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine* (twenty-eight codices) is a combination of prose and poetry in terza rima.

50 Unlike the textual situation for the *Canzoniere*, we possess only a few folios of the *Trionfi* (*Triumphus cupidinis* III.46–9 and *Triumphus eternitatis*) in Petrarch's hand, and these are found in BAV Vat. Latino 3196. The textual tradition of the *Trionfi* rests on some five codices.

51 The first English translation was done by Henry Parker (Lord Morley) around the middle of the sixteenth century. The success of the *Trionfi* in the Renaissance was far greater than that of Dante's *Comedy* and Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, and furthermore it provided much material for illustrations and the visual arts in general. For more information see, among others, Carnicelli, ed., *Lord Morley's "Tryumphes."*

52 Seven letters are found in the Florentine Biblioteca Riccardiana, Riccardiano MS 2533, and two more are in the following codex: BML Conventi Soppressi 122.

53 See, for example, Delcorno, *Giordano da Pisa*.

54 See Giordano da Pisa, *Quaresimale fiorentino*, and Giordano da Pisa, *Avventuale fiorentino 1304*.

55 See Branca, *Tradizione delle opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*. M. Cursi, *Il "Decameron,"* 10 n. 5 notes that sixty codices date from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and provides information on the diffusion of the text, descriptions of the codices, and 100 facsimiles of representative manuscript folios. In another recent work M. Cursi, *La scrittura*, discusses Boccaccio's handwriting and the autograph manuscripts with numerous examples from his works in facsimile. On the question of Boccaccio's autographs see also Casamassima, "Dentro lo scrittoio." Two other important manuscripts for reconstructing the text of the *Decameron* are BnF it. 482 and BML Pluteus 42.1 (see Fiorilla, "Nota al testo"). The fact of having the autograph codex of the *Decameron* has not resolved all textual problems. For some recent studies on Boccaccio and his particular manuscript context see the studies by Cursi, Fiorilla, and Casamassima, among others. For an excellent overview of the textual transmission of the *Decameron* see Richardson, "The textual history."

56 The autograph codex of Sacchetti's *Il libro delle rime* is BML Ashburnham 574.

57 See Cadioli, "Scoperta di un inedito."

58 Chubb, *The life of Giovanni Boccaccio*, 69.
59 For the manuscripts of the *Comedy*, see Roddewig, *Dante Alighieri*.
60 See D. Alighieri, *La vita nuova*, xix–lxxxviii. For some recent critical studies on the manuscript tradition and editorial fortunes of the *Vita nova* see, among others, the following: Storey, "Early editorial forms," and "Following instructions"; Eisner, *Boccaccio and the invention* (especially ch. 2); and Todorovic, "Nota sulla *Vita nova*," and "'Un'operetta."
61 See D. Alighieri, *Rime*. By comparison Boccaccio's *Rime* (one or many) are found in some 110 codices.
62 For the poetry of the Sicilian School and the Siculo-Toscani, see the three volumes of *I poeti della scuola siciliana*.
63 The text follows Petrocchi's edition, while the translation is that of Robert and Jean Hollander: see Dante Alighieri, *Purgatorio*, trans. Jean and Robert Hollander.
64 As Dante in the *Purgatory*, so too, Petrarch, in the *Trionfo d'amore* (IV, 31–6), generally follows the standard periodization of the Italian lyric tradition in his presentation of the Italian poet-lovers (and some of their ladies) who march in the procession of those conquered by Love.
65 The codex, written in a Pisan hand, contains 432 poems.
66 Of the 180 poems in this codex written in a Pistoian hand some ninety-three are found only here. The manuscript discloses a tripartite ordering scheme: *canzoni*, *ballate*, and sonnets.
67 Dante may have been influenced by a "twin" of BAV Vat. Latino 3793 (Steinberg, *Accounting for Dante*, 66; Antonelli, "Struttura materiale," 6–7; Contini, "Questioni attributive," 386), and the fragmentary codex Florence, BNC Magliabechiano II.III.492, which may be a copy of BAV Vat. Latino 3793 or may have been copied from the same exemplar (Antonelli, "Struttura materiale," 6, 22).
68 Banco Rari MS 217 would have provided the necessary assistance for *all* of the Sicilian poets.
69 Antonelli, "Struttura materiale," 16, suggests that Dante's privileging of the canzone may also stem from the preeminence accorded this metrical form in the various *canzonieri* of the period.
70 Steinberg, *Accounting for Dante*, 4, notes that the *Memoriali Bolognesi* "created a canon of early lyric poetry strikingly similar to the version of literary history Dante articulated in the *De vulgari eloquentia* and *Purgatorio*," while ignoring Guittone and the Guittonians. For these poems see Orlando, ed., *Rime due*.
71 The passage reads as follows: "videtur sicilianum vulgare sibi famam pre aliis asciscere, eo quod quicquid poetantur Ytali sicilianum vocatur, et eo quod perplures doctores indigenas invenimus graviter cecinisse" (ed. and trans. Botterill).
72 The other poem by Guido noted and praised by Dante in *DVE* is "Ancor che l'aigua per lo foco lassi," which is contained in Banco Rari 217 and Redi 9.

73 The passage reads: "quia non sine quodam tempore profertur" (*DVE* I. xii.6: "because it cannot be pronounced without a certain drawl"). The poem by the Florentine Castra (*DVE* I.xi.4), "Una fermana scopai da Cascioli," was "composed in derision of these three peoples" (i.e., people of Rome, the Marche, and Spoleto), and this poem is found uniquely in BAV Vat. Latino 3793 under the rubric "Messer Osmano."

74 Steinberg, *Accounting for Dante*, 77.

75 See D. Alighieri, *Vita nova*, ed. G. Gorni, 10–11, and Steinberg, *Accounting for Dante*, ch. 2. The canzone "Donne ch'avete" is also found in the *Memoriali bolognesi*, and, as Gorni notes, this is the only "canzone di Dante con tradizione ancora sicuramente duecentesca" (*Vita nova* XI.i).

76 See Steinberg, *Accounting for Dante*, 100–2.

77 See, for example, Storey, *Transcription and visual poetics* and Storey, "Following instructions"; Steinberg, *Accounting for Dante*; Holmes, *Assembling the lyric self*; and Storey and Capelli, "Modalità di ordinamento."

78 For an investigation of the poetry of Rustico Filippi along these lines see Marrani, "I sonetti," and "Macrosequenze."

79 Holmes, *Assembling the lyric self*, 70–100, views this codex as containing some mini-sequences that may have had an independent existence. Storey, "Following instructions," 121, suggests that Guittone's collection of thirteen sonnets (the so-called "trattato d'amore") contained in Escorial e.III.23 may have influenced Dante's conception of the *Vita nova*.

80 Of these poets Dante mentions only Guittone and never favorably. The large poetic production of Chiaro Davanzati and Monte Andrea contained in BAV Vat. Latino 3793 is not matched by the other two early codices: BML Redi MS 9 has only four poems by Chiaro and six by Monte, while BNC Banco Rari MS 217 contains none of their poems.

81 See Leonardi's discussion of this point and the relationship of the Laurentian codex and the contemporary, but fragmentary, Riccardiano MS 2533 ("Filologia dei canzonieri e filologia testuale: questioni di metodo e prassi ecdotica per la tradizione della lirica nel medioevo romanzo" in Leonardi, ed., *La tradizione della lirica*, 11–12; and *Il canzoniere Riccardiano di Guittone*, vol. V). Leonardi has also edited Guittone's amorous sonnets in the Laurentian codex as a "canzoniere": Guittone d'Arezzo, *Canzoniere.*

82 Thirty-five letters are by Guittone and the rest are by a few of his correspondents (e.g., Meo Abbracciavacca), some with appended sonnets.

83 Holmes, *Assembling the lyric self*, 50–1. Following twenty-four canzoni by "fra Guittone" (quires 6–7) are twenty-four pre-conversion canzoni in quires 8–9.

84 For example, the historiated initial A of Guido delle Colonne's "Amor che lungiamente m'hai menato" shows the poet-lover on all fours with the god of Love astride him as though he were a horse and holding a whip in his right hand and reins in his left.

85 *DVE* II.iii.5 and II.iv.1; Leonardi, "Introduzione," x.

86 The codex contains Cavalcanti's *ballata* "Fresca rosa novella," but incorrectly attributes it to Dante.

87 With the advent of the Dolce Stil Novo a number of manuscripts are compiled to include these new contributions to the lyric tradition, and some of the earlier poets and poems are, if not omitted, fewer in number. We must also consult the many manuscripts produced in the fourteenth century to gain a full picture of the thirteenth-century lyric tradition, for the three principal early codices, while presenting many poems, do not contain all of the production. Among the most important fourteenth-century codices are the following: BAV Barberini 3953 was compiled by Nicolò dei Rossi around 1325 and represents the reception of Tuscan poetry in the Veneto. BAV Chigi L.VIII.305 was completed in mid-century and is a major source of the Stil Novo lyrics; in Storey's words (*Transcription and visual poetics*, 151) "the literary-political agenda of Chigiano L.VIII.305 is precisely Dante's revisionist, and decidedly anti-Guittonean, literary history in the *De vulgari eloquentia*" (see also Brugnolo, "Il libro di poesia," 17–19). The fragmentary Escorial MS e.III.23 (El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio) was compiled in the Veneto area by Nicolò dei Rossi and contains some 129 poems between *ballate* and sonnets by Cino, Dante, Cecco Angiolieri, Guittone, and many others (this codex is important, for it provides the oldest evidence for the circulation of Tuscan poets in the Veneto); see Capelli, *Sull'Escorialense*. The fragmentary Venice, Biblioteca Marciana it. IX.529 contains fifty-eight sonnets by Dante, Cino and others, arranged in six folios.

88 Or perhaps he understood it all too well, and hence his negative view.

89 In our view, it was a combination of poetic rivalry and socio-political-linguistic considerations that fostered Dante's disdain for Guittone and other "municipal" poets, spurring him to reformulate his conception of poetry and to fashion his own distinct poetic voice (on this point see, among others, Steinberg, *Accounting for Dante*, 98–9). Without BAV Vat. Latino 3793 and its celebration of Guittone and his fellow rhymers, Dante might not have written either the *Vita nova* or the *DVE*, and, by the same token, had Dante not been exiled from Florence, he probably would not have written the *Comedy*.

90 In *Il canzoniere Riccardiano di Guittone*, 8–30, Leonardi suggests that another important manuscript for Guittone's poetry is Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Riccardiano MS 2533, a fragmentary codex from the late thirteenth century, which appears to be contemporary with, but organized differently from, BML Redi 9.

91 For a recent, engaging study of fourteenth-century Italian manuscript culture, see Storey, "Cultural crisis."

92 The partially autograph manuscript of the *Canzoniere* is BAV Vat. Latino 3195.

CHAPTER 13

# *Afterword: social history of the book and beyond* Originalia*, medieval literary theory, and the aesthetics of paleography*

*Kathryn Kerby-Fulton*

In memory of Malcolm Parkes

## AN AESTHETICS OF PALEOGRAPHY

In their introduction to this volume, Johnston and Van Dussen invoke and then ably challenge a widespread perception that has long plagued the study of manuscripts.[1] Quoting James Simpson's representative observation that "paleographers and codicologists for the most part stick to paleography and codicology. They provide an invaluable service industry, but themselves eschew the translation of their findings into literary criticism and cultural history,"[2] the editors then rightly note that does not *have* to be so: "Scholars who are trained in manuscript study, including the disciplines of paleography and codicology, *need not sacrifice the precision that lies at the heart of their research in order to communicate a more synthetic overview of manuscripts and how they work within culture*" (Chapter 1, my italics).

This profound insight at once captures the aspirations of their volume, the standard they uphold in it, and the challenge they throw down, gauntlet-like, to the entire field of medieval literary studies. Their approach, I believe, has the potential to alter how we all do business, through its insistence that literary theory (both medieval and modern) has a place in manuscript studies, codicology, and even in the immovable cornerstone of these disciplines, paleography.

Here I will suggest that if, in fact, literary critics were to stop thinking of paleographers as mere technicians, and look a little more closely at the enormous *conceptual* contributions they have made and which underpin both their work and ours, we could realize even further ramifications of Johnston and Van Dussen's exciting project. Paleographers and codicologists have already resurrected for us a crucial vocabulary of literary theory that our medieval authors assumed. The contributors in

this volume model an especially supple use of that vocabulary, marrying it with modern literary theory quite seamlessly. Here I'll suggest that we must build upon this vocabulary: the Middle Ages may be over, but our work to understand its literary legacy has just begun. In this brief essay I will look at a wholly neglected *medieval* literary term, *originalia*, as just one example of the kinds of conceptual ideas that remain un-resurrected and unexplored. And in doing so I will offer a reading of a great example of "sociology of the book" (to use Johnston and Van Dussen's phrase) by a major paleographer, Malcolm Parkes – a scholar whose name has likely never before appeared in a sentence with the word "sociology."

First, let me put in a plug for the creativity of paleographers. Paleography is technical, and ought to be, but it is also much more. As Donald Scragg recently remarked in his *Conspectus of scribal hands writing English, 960–1100*: "Needless to say, I am also indebted to the many hundreds of studies of individual scribes and groups of scribes which have been published since Ker's *Catalogue* appeared, but paleography is an art form rather than an exact science."[3] Scragg's own book might be passed over by literary critics as "mere science": in part by comparing unnoticed orthographical attributes of scribal hands, he teased out a much higher number of *individual* Anglo-Saxon scribes than anyone thought possible. And in doing so, he raised our collective respect for the literacy and book productivity of pre-Conquest England. But if Scragg's book, which is essentially a catalogue, has as its foundation this kind of *aesthetics of paleography*, what then could *not* be theorized? So, too, it is the duty of all of us who work in book history to interrogate our assumptions, and contribute to self-awareness of the field's methodologies.[4] For what is theory (any theory worth its salt) in the end, but self-awareness of method?

In fact, some of the biggest controversies in recent Middle English literary scholarship more specifically have been fought over how "technical" paleographical data is used and its implications conceptualized. Take but one high-profile example, Linne Mooney's identification of Adam Pinkhurst as Chaucer's scribe, which, as Andrew Taylor so memorably puts it in this volume, is still "not quite Chaucer's scribe" (Chapter 11). Alexandra Gillespie, for instance, invoking Foucauldian ideas of authorship, questioned Mooney's use of Chaucer's "Adam Scriveyn" poem as historical evidence, on the grounds that it was an "over-determined" reading.[5] Meanwhile, the paleographer Jane Roberts disputed Mooney's identification on the basis that her method yoked similar but not identical types of professional hands together.[6] Yet for Stephen Partridge, codicologist and

editor of the vast corpus of Chaucerian Latin glosses, Mooney's identification actually helps solve real textual cruxes about Chaucer's authorial self-presentation.[7]

In this volume, Andrew Taylor in particular skillfully negotiates this type of dispute, as do Arthur Bahr, Lerer, and others, by making *medieval* theories of authorship primary, and using modern theory as a stimulant to, but not a *driver* of, their discussions. This seems to me to mark an important new balance, and even a trend. For instance, as Taylor explains in relation to Partridge: "Following Minnis, Stephen Partridge has argued that by casting himself as a compiler in the closing sentence of his *Retractions* ('heere is ended the book of the tales of Caunterbury compiled by Geffrey Chaucer'), Chaucer usurps the position of the scribe, and thus, despite his apparent self-deprecation, lays claim to the status of the author" (Chapter 11). Here not only does medieval literary theory of *compilatio* (which was resurrected for literary studies by a paleographer, Malcolm Parkes) aid the critic, but, thinking *like* a medieval book producer solves cruxes. So, too, in this volume Pascale Bourgain, for instance, solves cruxes by viewing the very mutability of medieval texts more as a contemporary would, and less like a modern editor ("The mutability of texts was indeed an inherent part of their use"; see Chapter 8).

What more might paleography add here? Roberts feels that the question of "Chaucer's scribe" is best tackled via the methodological challenges posed by formally trained hands. She notes a number of differences in letter forms potentially disturbing to the Pinkhurst attributions, but even several of these, she rightly notes, could equally be due to different levels of formality in choice of script. In fact Roberts's work, when coupled with other recent empirical evidence for scribal shifts in script when handling Latin and English, offers us, I would suggest, a whole new, readily theorizable, "idea of the vernacular." As paleographers Malcolm Parkes and Ian Doyle established, there was a growing idea among copyists *c.*1400 that English required a certain "look" – that look being the rapidly archaizing *Anglicana formata* script. More recently Theresa O'Byrne has added to this observation, showing of the fifteenth-century scribe, Nicholas Bellewe,[8] that as he got older, the distinction between his English book hand and Latin legal hand becomes more pronounced. In the work of all these paleographers, I would note, the "idea of the vernacular" is *more than just an idea*. So while we can agree generally that paleographers can *seem* remote from our most exciting theoretical ideas, from other perspectives, they are also, if we bother to look carefully, at the cutting edge.

Paleographers and editors are conceptual thinkers and creative problem-solvers – practicing an *art* form, not just a science – just as surely as literary theorists. What strikes me about the treatments in this volume of this same set of questions is the tilting of the balance toward consulting medieval literary theory wherever possible – one might say *first*. This I think is key to Johnston and Van Dussen's aspirations: to help literary theorists realize where their interests *intersect* with medieval literary theory (which is a growing field), and with those of paleographers, codicologists, and print historians – and that literary scholars do not hold all of the theoretical cards.

## BOOK HISTORY IN MEDIEVAL OXFORD: A SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL HISTORY FROM *ORDINATIO* TO *ORIGINALIA*

In this next section I suggest that paleographical work, *read alertly*, actually already delivers much of Johnston and Van Dussen's "sociology of book history." Of course, it helps to choose a brilliant, intuitive paleographer, in this case, Malcolm Parkes, a man not only of precision, but also the originator of many of the key ideas underlying this volume. Contributors here are especially often indebted to Parkes's studies of *ordinatio*, *compilatio*, literacy of the laity, punctuation (*Pause and effect*), and scribes (*Their hands before our eyes: a closer look at scribes*).[9] One of his lesser-known pieces, however, "The provision of books" in the late medieval volume of *The history of the university of Oxford*, offers a compelling "thick history" that matches Johnston and Van Dussen's concept of sociology of the book.[10] As they write, "When we speak of the 'culture' of manuscripts … we are really aiming to theorize and describe manuscripts *as humans interact with them*" (Chapter 1, my italics). They draw on Donald MacKenzie's work, as Lerer notes here: "A generation ago, in his Panizzi Lectures, 'Bibliography and the sociology of texts,' Donald F. McKenzie avowed that 'A book is never simply a remarkable *object*. Like every other technology it is invariably the product of human agency in complex and highly volatile contexts which a responsible scholarship must seek to recover.' "[11] But in a succinct, memorable half-sentence that cuts through McKenzie's tendencies toward abstraction, Lerer explains, "What was done with and to books matters as much as how they were read." Here I will give an example of how an "old school" paleographer shows precisely what is done with and to books, and I will suggest what lies *beyond* the "sociology of the book" for the twenty-first century, including economies, intellectualities, and aesthetics of the book.

"The provision of books in the medieval university depended primarily on the personal initiative of the masters and students: a scholar bought books, borrowed them, or borrowed an exemplar and copied a text for himself."[12] So begins Parkes's "The provision of books", in which he opened all his file drawers and index cards (and they would have been index cards), and created a deep, granular social history from the *human interactions* that kept the intellectual lifeblood of Oxford flowing. For instance, in trying to identify Oxford scribes who accepted commissions from members of the university, Parkes noted that Oxford's distinguished Franciscan scholar Adam Woodham talked about walking from Greyfriars into the town "to hear a disputation or to visit his scribe."[13] (One wonders whether Chaucer also visited his?) There are also lists of books older monks loaned to younger ones (e.g., William Ebchester, warden of Oxford's Durham College, 1419–28, gave a copy of Bede's *Vita Cuthberti*, surely a reminder of home, to a younger Durham student, William Elwick [1454–7], while Elwick would pass his Aquinas to John Auckland, yet another Durham boy in Oxford, 1454–65). There are also lists of Christian intellectual books found among the Oxford Jewry in pre-expulsion years once pledged to Jewish moneylenders as security for loans. Some were even owned by Jewish women, such as the law books, apparently once pledged, owned by Muriel, divorced wife of David ben Asher in 1244 (410). "Town" lives and breathes in Parkes's account, alongside "gown": in Catte Street William de Brailes had painted the earliest extant Book of Hours (the *De Brailes Psalter*) for an Oxford woman likely named Susanna, adding his own self-portrait (413). There are lists of individuals who owned Arabic translations, Wycliffite tracts, or books copied in humanist hands (454) – lists galore of required texts, forfeited books, ex libris records, and above all real people associated with each of them.

For our purposes here, university book history gave us the single most crucial technology of medieval reading, *ordinatio*, a concept recovered for modern scholarship by Parkes himself, one which had its origin in university settings: "The practices of the lecture-room also influenced the presentation of a text in manuscripts. A master giving ordinary lectures in the faculty of arts at Oxford was required to discuss the organization and structure of a prescribed text, referred to in one of the earliest surviving Oxford statutes (before 1350) as its *ordinatio*."[14] This system of "signposts" doubtless had its origin at the University of Paris, he notes, because the term can be found in their commentaries as early as the 1220s.

One of Parkes's great innovations in this piece was his use of book borrowing records to augment scarce medieval academic library catalogues.

Pledged books were stored in a college or university chest, though loaning was often frowned upon, especially by the religious orders whose convent books were often at stake (451). The borrower (or his order) deposited a book in a college or university chest as security against the loan ("cautio"), leaving a record not only of what was pledged, but of what particular book it was pledged *for*. So we have not only a sociology, I'd suggest, but an *economy* of intellectual exchange. Here we see what specific titles are being traded, and, if we read closely, we can discern what newer book technologies were being sought out. Take Parkes's example of Richard of Bromwich (monk of Worcester in Oxford from about 1302–13), who pledged a twelfth-century copy of Hilary of Poitiers's *De trinitate* as security for the loan of some unnamed *distinctiones* on the Psalms (*pro uno paruo libello distinctionum*) and "tabula super orginalibus sancti Augustini." Now, if one applies Parkes's own concepts to the record, we learn that the desired book was small ("paruo") – doubtless more portable than the twelfth-century Hilary – and the "tabula" would represent the latest technology in finding devices, as exciting to us as a new searchable PDF. In short, Richard was pledging a book in the old technology of the twelfth century, which would have far less *ordinatio.*[15] Parkes does not use the term "technologies," but without his concept of *ordinatio*, neither could we.

Books pledged as security for loans *from* university chests tell us about the physical and economic history of books, but, we should note, they also tell us what was falling out of fashion intellectually: e.g., Parkes records that Robert Graystanes's copy of Aquinas on Aristotle wound up in the Burnell Hall chest three times (1306, 1323, and 1325). Not only was Graystanes willing to part with it three times (451) – the same was true, Parkes notes, of his copy of Grosseteste on the *Posterior analytics*, which he pledged twice (1324–5). But both Aquinas and Grosseteste were thirteenth-century authors, so this also looks to me like shifting *intellectual* history. Aquinas and Grosseteste must have looked a bit sepia-tinted during these early fourteenth-century years when Ockham and the nominalists were on the rise.

Book history, then, is the history of intellectual *desire* (if I may borrow Nicholas Watson's intriguing concept for what motivates modern intellectuals to engage with the past), and Parkes's work can be mined as a history of desire.[16] Take Parkes's record of the loan of a work by Joachim of Fiore, an author long thought by modern scholars too exotic, suspect, or maverick for English tastes.[17] But the Oxford Franciscans had a serious collection of Joachim's thought. Parkes notes that John Beverly, prior of Durham, pledged a copy of Huguccio (Italian canon lawyer, d. 1210) as

security ("caucio") with the Franciscan convent at Oxford for the loan of a copy of Joachim of Fiore on the Apocalypse ("pro exposicione abbatis Ioachim super apocalipsim"). Moreover, the fact that the Huguccio text was pledged *five* times between 1315 and 1332, as another of Parkes's meticulous notes shows (447 n. 196), also tells us what was *not* being read at Durham: Huguccio could languish in another convent's chest or library any day of the week apparently. And I would add that Durham would continue to be interested in Joachim: as I have noted elsewhere, *c.*1446–56 prior William Ebchester (who gave the *Cuthbert* above) acquired a gorgeous full copy of Joachim's authentic *Enchiridion super Apocalypsim* (now London, British Library MS Harley 3049), to which was attached, by now, pseudonymous extracts on the Waldenisans, Wycliffites, and Hussites (pretty impressive prophecies for a twelfth-century abbot!). This raises the key issue of authenticity, our next concern.

## *ORIGINALIA* AND PRE-HUMANIST CONCERN FOR TEXTUAL AUTHENTICITY: A NEGLECTED MEDIEVAL THEORY OF THE AUTHOR'S ORIGINAL OEUVRE

Parkes's Richard of Bromwich, like so many medieval book hunters, was concerned to acquire a text with guaranteed authorial authenticity and completeness: e.g. his "tabula super *orginalibus* sancti Augustini" – my italics here pick up a key word: *originalia*. The fact that this concern is today so often thought of as merely a humanist or "Renaissance" preoccupation is in part because the serious medieval attempts to address it have still too rarely been highlighted. And we can begin to remedy that a bit here by at least recognizing one of their key Latin terms for it. "*Originalia*"[18] is a term that appears often in various kinds of book records (as here in Parkes's), and, though rarely noticed, is used in medieval Latin texts from thirteenth-century Italy to fourteenth-century England to the fifteenth-century Low Countries and beyond. I first ran across it when studying the 1255 Protocol of Anagni, whose investigators attempted to judge the extent (if any) of theological errors or heresies in Joachim of Fiore's work prior to assessing the more flagrant case of the radical Franciscan Joachite, Gerard of Borgo San Donnino. The Protocol states that they hunted down the *originalia* of Joachim of Fiore before making any judgment ("originalia Joachim de Florensi monasterio").[19] Joachim already had many radical imitators, and – contrary to the modern image of the malignant inquisitor – they wanted to get it right. Another example I have noted elsewhere appears in Archbishop Arundel's Constitutions

(article VI), which insists that Wycliffite *originalia*, once any work is fully examined and its status determined, be kept in perpetuity in a university chest ("originali in cista aliqua universitatis extunc perpetuo remanente").[20] A third example appears in John Van Engen's study of the founder of the *Devotio Moderna* movement, Geert Grote, who explicitly sought patristic *originalia*, not trusting the integrity of versions in florilegia or miscellanies. In house customaries he advocated reading "some book from the Bible (*canonica*) or some other genuine and approved writing (*aut alias autentica uel probate scriptura*)," especially "*originalia*," meaning, Van Engen notes, "whole texts of authors, not just excerpts."[21] Here the term takes on a particular nuance developed among scholastics (as Ghellinck once showed) to include the integrity of an author's work as both authentic and *whole*, i.e., not derived from excerpts or glosses.[22] Similarly, Daniel Hobbins notes a passage in which Jean Gerson inveighs against sloppy academic compilers and interpreters who destroy *originalia*, in effect cutting them to the quick ("per incuriam scribendi legendique reddentes originalia velut superflua et mortua a corde").[23] The earnest medieval search for authentic and complete texts of desired authors is far too often overlooked – and rarely given its medieval conceptual name in modern scholarship. And the genuine medieval *fear* of the sloppy extract puts a different perspective on the miscellany, one of medieval suspicion of miscellany contents – a topic that could be added to the lively discussions of miscellanity in this volume by Bahr, and of pseudonymous attribution, by Bourgain.[24]

Though we are space-challenged here, a few more pre-humanist examples of the hunt for authenticity can be noted: Anne Hudson has recently postulated that Czech scholars from Prague journeyed to Oxford and sites associated with Wyclif in search of "authoritative" Wycliffite exemplars, even stopping to pay respects at his grave and collect a souvenir chip off it. She gives compelling evidence for her view based on the two scholars' surviving annotations.[25] Though not using the term herself, Hudson also discusses the survival of three remarkably accurate, annotated Bohemian catalogues of Wyclif's *originalia*. She also notes that even Hus believed a particular manuscript to be a Wyclif autograph. The medieval concern to protect *originalia* could extend to the holding of an approved copy in some central location for reference, to ensure that no one interpolated unwelcome additions or changes: for example, a political instance, the Irish version of the *Modus tenendi parlementum* ("How to hold a parliament") specifies that "hoc scriptum" be held in the custody of the Archbishop of Cashel.[26] And this concern extends to the vernacular: as Katherine Zieman has shown, a poem fronting Richard Rolle's English Psalter in one manuscript insists

that the authentic text is chained in the nunnery of Hampole.[27] Here we see the vernacular poet struggling for lack of English terminology for *originalia*, but claiming autograph manuscript status (my italics):

> This *same* Sauter *in all degre* is þe *self* in *sothnes*
> That ly3t in Hampole in *surte* at Richard own bereynes, [tomb]
> That he *wrote with his hon*des to Dame Margret Kyrkby.
> And þar it ly3t *in cheyn bondes* in þe same nonery.

*Originalia*, then, deserves mentioning alongside the other central concepts from medieval literary theory in wonderful wide use in this collection. For instance (and my word limit here prevents me from mentioning all instances), Andrew Taylor talks about the phenomenon (though not the term) in his essay meditating on Juan Manual's depositing of a copy of his work *Conde Lucanor* in a Dominican house. Arthur Bahr addresses it in his study here of "variance" (Chapter 10), ranging from the concerns in Chaucer's poem to Adam Scriveyn to what happens in modern literary theory when we *don't* have extant authoritative texts, as in the New Critical reconstructions of Langland's poem in Kane and Donaldson's edition (Chapter 10). In a very different way, Siân Echard attacks the issue in her meditation on the absence of readable original copies (now toasted to illegibility in the Cotton library fire), which drives us to rely on seventeenth-century transcripts made by the underappreciated early modern "scribal community" that surrounded Matthew Parker (Chapter 6).

## BEYOND THE OBJECT: THE INTELLECTUAL HISTORY OF THE BOOK'S LIFE AFTER DEATH

In closing I would cite in particular Seth Lerer's article, which takes us well beyond the object when he writes of book history: "It has become the discipline that studies what is meaningful *within* those objects, and how that *meaning is created and received*" (Chapter 2, my emphasis). Here Lerer refuses just to settle for physical or exterior descriptions (important as they are), tackling head on one of the key reasons that paleography and codicology, even book history itself, has been deemed too "unphilosophical" for mainstream literary studies. Whether literary studies' new attention to object theory more generally will offer other solutions remains to be seen. But for book history, Lerer is right to stress that the externals are ultimately only the business of literary scholars when they lead us to look *within.* It is still what literary scholars do best, and we must play to our strengths, not to our temptations.

I began this chapter with a sampling of recent scholarly discussion, here and elsewhere, on Chaucer's scribe, Adam, and suggested ways in which Parkes's work on Oxford can show how book history can impact literary criticism. Oxford's distinguished Franciscan scholar Adam Woodham actually spoke of walking from Greyfriars into the town to visit his scribe. For Parkes the fact that the *scribe's name* is not recorded is troubling.[28] Although Parkes would not have thought of himself as a social historian, let alone a Marxist, his profound respect for the artisanal qualities of a scribe's life has been a moral inspiration to generations of modern students. Though Stephen Nichols here understandably cautions against overemphasis on the artisanal ("Manuscripts, in short, are held to represent artisanal rather than technological reproduction and are thus prey to the vicissitudes of idiosyncratic and contingent factors"; see Chapter 3), Parkes's concern, and his later moving study, *Their hands before our eyes*, remind us that these artisans were real. So why does Woodham get to have his own scribe but Chaucer doesn't? I find Arthur Bahr's comment here most cogent, both on Adam and on medieval authorial attempts to preserve the integrity of their *originalia*: the "famous 'Adam Scriveyn' lyric is, explicitly at least, an attempt to stabilize the text and so prevent the creation of … textual variance" (Chapter 10).

My point here has been a simple one: paleographers may seem remote but, if so, are critics the ones who moved? We ignore their contributions to book history, aesthetics, and even literary interpretation at our peril. My second point is that vernacularist literary scholars ignore medieval *Latin* literary history at their peril. Andrew Taylor does a splendid job in his chapter here, making a case especially for the differentness of French vernacular authors attempting to establish their authority, and I would fully agree. However, I would like to add that plenty of *medieval Latin* writers were trying to sort out their relationship to past giant *auctores*, too (Rupert of Deutz, Hildegard of Bingen, Jean Gerson, Gert Groote, and more), so we must beware of too much special pleading for vernacular authors. In a manuscript culture, everyone was in the same boat: authority, authenticity, textual stability, posterity were sites of conflict – and also opportunity (as Bourgain stresses) – for writers in all languages, as the full reach of Johnston and Van Dussen's volume teaches us.

## NOTES

1 I would like to thank Richard Fahey for his assistance in the preparation of this chapter.

2 Rev. of Hanna, *London literature*, 292. See Chapter 1.
3 Scragg, *Conspectus of scribal hands*, xii.
4 See Hanna, *Introducing English book history*.
5 A. Gillespie, "Reading Chaucer's words"; and see her *Print culture.*
6 Mooney, "Chaucer's Scribe"; Roberts, "On giving Scribe B a name"; and Kerby-Fulton, Hilmo, and Olson, *Opening up manuscripts*, 81 ff. for a full discussion of Roberts's and Mooney's positions.
7 Partridge, " 'The makere of this boke.' "
8 O'Byrne, "Manuscript creation in Dublin"; and Doyle and Parkes, "Production of copies."
9 Parkes, "Influence of *ordinatio* and *compilatio*"; "Literacy of the laity"; *Pause and effect*; and *Their hands before our eyes*.
10 Parkes, "Provision of books."
11 McKenzie, *Bibliography and sociology of texts*, 4, cited in Lerer, this volume, Chapter 2.
12 Parkes, "Provision of books," 407, cited hereafter by page number.
13 *Ibid*.; here 414–15, and n. 34.
14 *Ibid*., 430–1 and n. 119, for the statute.
15 On monks imitating the example of the friars and preparing *tabulae*, see *ibid*., 455.
16 Watson, "Desire for the past."
17 Kerby-Fulton, "English Joachimism," and on Harley 3049, see p. 198.
18 *Originalia* is the nominative neuter plural of the adjective *originalis*, for which see definition 3, "(of a document) original, authentic," in Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus*, 748. It is also used in its noun form, *originale* (*ibid*.). See Ghellinck, "Originale et originalia." For its more specific legal use since the twelfth century see the National Archives catalogue description, "Exchequer: Lord Treasurer's remembrancer: originalia rolls" online: http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C6748.
19 Kerby-Fulton, *Books under suspicion*, 130 and xxii.
20 See *ibid*., 398, for discussion. The books are not to be disseminated until they are first examined: "primitus examinetur, et examinatus unanimiter per eosdem, deinde per nos seu successores nostros expresse approbeter, et universitatis nomine ac auctoritate stationariis tradatur, ut copietur; et facta collatione fideli, petentibus vendatur justo pretio sive detur, originali in cista aliqua universitatis extunc perpetuo remanente." Note that the article allows for examined and *approved* works to be disseminated, but a copy must be retained. This approved category is too often missed by modern scholars. Even the rubric indicates this: "VI. CONSTITUTIO. Ne quis librum, vel tractatum aliquem Jo. Wycliff legat, antequam examinetur." Digitized by Katherine Zieman from *Foedera, conventiones, litterae*. The entire transcription can be found online at: www.umilta.net/arundel.html.
21 Van Engen, *Sisters and brothers*, 261–2.
22 Ghellinck, "Originale et originalia," 99.
23 Hobbins, *Authorship and publicity*, 120–1 n. 106, 262–3.

24 "False attributions were what might be regarded as a 'marketing tactic,' since they could often render a work more attractive."

25 "The possibility that Faulfiš and Kněhnic came to England in search not of new texts but of *authoritative* copies of what was already known in Prague is one that is implied by the care with which they validated in the margins the sources of their material – the *De veritate sacre scripture* was *correctus graviter* (fol. 119v) in Oxford." Hudson, "From Oxford to Prague," 644.

26 See Pronay and Taylor, *Parliamentary texts*, 122.

27 Transcribed by Zieman from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 286, fols. 1r–v. See Katherine Zieman, "Richard Rolle's English Psalter."

28 Parkes, "Provision of books," 414.

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